Religion in Europe, by Maude Royden

The World Tomorrow

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—From Critica, Buenos Aires

As Others See US

Gains in the Quest for Peace

By Norman Thomas

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS?

J. H. Oldham
Sherwood Eddy
Reinhold Niebuhr
Kenneth S. Latourette

Changing Negro-White Relations

By Charles S. Johnson

The World Tomorrow, Inc.

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World Tomorrow

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The Point of View

ONCE every four years several hundred students from colleges all over the United States come together seeking to get a new light on the life work they have chosen—a life work in the foreign mission field. Are they off on a false lead, or is the challenge a vital one? The problems confronting them are not vastly dissimilar to the questions many others are asking, both within and without religious circles. In this number a few of those basic issues are discussed, and discussed by those who have been grappling with them concretely.

Miss Maud Royden hardly requires a chairman-like presentation to our readers. Her unusual work in England is known everywhere, and despite her modest disclaimer, her article shows that she understands religious problems on the Continent well indeed. And **Sherwood Eddy's** long career of strenuous work in just about every available corner of the globe, not excluding the United States—as this article well indicates—gives him great background for his discussion of missions. The same is true of **Professor Kenneth S. Latourette** of Yale; and **J. H. Oldham,** of England, Secretary of the International Missionary Council, whose addresses and writings have had stirring international influence. In the pages of many a journal and through his pulpit in Detroit, **Reinhold Niebuhr** increasingly has been making people who enjoy deep-plowing thought look in his direction.

We are giving double measure this month in our series on Recent Gains in American Civilization. We don't know, of course, what you will think; but for sheer knowledge of what they are talking about, for realistic analysis, and as a stimulus to fresh endeavor, our biased vote is that it would be hard to equal the articles by **Norman Thomas,** of the League for Industrial Democracy, and **Charles S. Johnson,** editor of *Opportunity.*

Walter Burr made the acquaintance of George Valleris, of whom he writes, in one of those numerous excursions among humanity which he makes as a relief from —or is it a vital part of—his work as Professor of Sociology at the Kansas State Agricultural College. **David Lawrence** is contributing uniquely to journalism as editor and president of the *United States Daily* in Washington. **William Orton** is a professor like whom we wish we had had more. His headquarters are located at Smith College.

Kwei Chen, whose verse has appeared before in our pages, is now a fellow in philosophy at the University of Wisconsin.

In the best style of the radio announcers, we wish to inform our unseen audience that there are numerous good things coming. **Yu Shan Han** tells about a *bona fide* impression of an immigration detention room. There's a story of Soviet Russian peasant life; a provocative *Critique of Internationalism;* and an article on Mexico's migrant workers. **Harry F. Ward** has reviewed two new books on *Al Smith,* and there will be verse by **David Morton, Olive Dargan,** and **Sarah N. Cleghorn.** And when we feel strong enough we may let you see **H. C. Engelbrecht's** incredible compendium of *A Thousand and One Humbugs.* **Stuart Chase** and **Heywood Broun** will shortly join their fellow contributors to the series on *Recent Gains in American Civilization.*

THE WORLD TOMORROW

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The World Tomorrow

A Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus

Vol. XI. **January, 1928** **No. 1**

Editorials

Greeting New Friends

We are glad to welcome the subscribers of THE SEARCHLIGHT ON CONGRESS and THE MODERN WORLD to our circle of readers. We deeply regret that these two contemporaries have been compelled to suspend publication, as we have valued both very highly. It is, however, a source of genuine satisfaction to be able to inherit their constituencies. We hope that these new friends will find the various features of this journal so stimulating that they will become permanent subscribers. We are pleased to announce that Lynn Haines, founder and for many years editor of THE SEARCHLIGHT, has become a Contributing Editor of THE WORLD TOMORROW. Out of his long experience in Washington, he will from time to time interpret significant events for our readers.

The Havana Conference

The eminence of the delegates appointed to represent the United States at the Sixth Pan-American Conference which is to be held in Havana in January indicates the importance which is attached to this gathering. It is altogether probable that President Coolidge will take advantage of the occasion to make a significant announcement concerning the foreign policy of the United States.

Five Latin American countries have given notice that they intend to introduce resolutions defining and outlawing intervention by one state in the affairs of another country. These resolutions are likely to be pressed with vigor. It would be most unfortunate if appropriate action were blocked by the United States.

It is high time that a clearly defined policy with regard to intervention be outlined. Our present practice of landing marines in other countries at will is highly provocative and menacing. Moreover, in the opinion of able constitutional lawyers, armed intervention without the express authorization of Congress is illegal and unconstitutional. Let the people demand that the war-making power be restored to Congress. If the peace forces of the country have anything to say about intervention, now is the time to break silence. Our future foreign policy is in the making. A stitch in time has often saved nine.

Massacre in Colorado

The coal mines of Colorado have furnished one great disgrace for our history, in the killing by state militia on April 20, 1914, at Ludlow, of six men, two women, and eleven children, all members of striking miners' families. And now, on November 21, very much the same species of employer-state machine-gun violence is repeated, the number killed being smaller but under circumstances not greatly different. Now, as then, the question is mainly recognition of the miners' own union, the company unions instituted after the other massacre having turned out to be what they almost uniformly are—tools of the employers for the perpetuation of injustice. Now, as then, free speech and assemblage for the workers have been ruthlessly overthrown. Now, as then, most of the violence has been exhibited by the unholy alliance of state troops with the employing interests.

There are, however, one or two bright things of some significance. If not significant, the absence of Ivy Lee, official and wholesale whitewasher for the owners in the previous massacre, and known then as "Poison Ivy," is something of a relief. And this time it has indeed been heartening to note the speed and unhesitating courage with which some of the religious agencies of the state have acted. The report of the Social Service Commission of the Colorado Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, dated November 11th, affirms "the insistence of the Christian church and other religionists on 'the right of employees, as well as employers, to organize and to deal collectively through representatives of their own choosing'—regardless of public opinion of their selected

agents." The report protests the one-sided enforcement of law, the infringement of civil liberties, and declares its faith in the industrial pronouncement of the Methodist General Conference of 1916: "Christian democracy applied to industry means the development of coöperative relations to the fullest possible extent. It requires that the opportunities for development be given to all on equal terms. It makes possible that the wage earners participate in the ownership, as well as in the management, of industry. The church must, therefore, clearly teach the principle of the fullest possible coöperative control and ownership of industry and of the natural resources upon which industry depends, in order that men may be spurred to develop the methods that shall adequately express this principle."

Not everything needful; but such a report, rendered promptly in an inflammable situation, gives ground for hope that after all religious bodies need not always remain remote from concrete situations and miss opportunities to promote something of the idealism for which, professedly, they stand.

Showers of Telegrams

Senator Capper is the latest addition. He has announced that he intends to introduce an outlawry of war resolution when Congress convenes. Senator Borah is going to re-introduce his famous outlawry proposal. Three other draft treaties dealing with outlawry have already been prepared and are available for consideration. President Coolidge has intimated that negotiations will soon be opened with France, in response to M. Briand's offer to enter into an outlawry agreement with the United States.

The peace forces of the country are now confronted with a rare opportunity to take an advance step. Let's get together behind outlawry! We differ as to the most effective *method* of securing outlawry and of making it effective. But there ought to be no differences among us concerning the value of delegalizing war, whether such action be accomplished by a series of treaties or by a universal treaty declaring war to be a crime under the law of nations.

Now is the time for another uprising of popular opinion, such as occurred prior to the Washington Conference and again at the height of the Mexican crisis. Shower the President, the Secretary of State and the various Senators with telegrams, letters, petitions and resolutions. Let the voice of the nation be heard!

No Arms to Aggressor

Representative Theodore E. Burton is planning to introduce a joint resolution to prohibit the exportation of munitions or implements of war to any country going to war in violation of arbitration or other peace agreements. Such action would greatly strengthen the efforts now being made in Europe to prevent the outbreak of hostilities. In case of a war of aggression our citizens might lose a few millions in war profits. But the chance of preventing war is greatly enhanced if the aggressor knows in advance that he will be boycotted. Moreover, the sense of security is accentuated.

And Now Detroit

For two reasons we are watching with interest the planning of the Student Volunteer Movement Convention which is to be held in Detroit, Michigan, December 28th, 1927 to January 2, 1928. Primarily we are interested in its outreach into international understanding. The 3,500 student delegates who hear about and examine the question of the Christian Foreign Mission problem may have significant influence, during the next twenty-five years, in the shaping of our foreign policies and in international relationships.

And second the program interests us, the personalities of speakers aside. If the tentative program before us is carried through intelligently, honestly and fearlessly all thinking Christians will be influenced by the conclusions. *The philosophy of sharing—sharing vs. propaganda, what have Christian missions accomplished and at what points have they manifestly failed? new difficulties, new frontiers, new opportunities affecting Christian movements, missionaries from non-Christian America, international and inter-racial Christian cooperation for human betterment and advancement of the Kingdom of God, the future of Christian missions* are the skeleton questions around which the convention will build itself. One of them is enough to rock out of complacency a good many of us. From the two previous quadrennial conferences, at Des Moines and Indianapolis, have come tremendously prophetic changes. We hope for greater social leaven from this one.

Friends of Children

The National Association of Manufacturers has issued a "National Education and Employment Program" which leaves little doubt of its purpose. That body has apparently served public notice that it has deliberately embarked upon a crusade to break down the already meager and minimum laws for the protection of children over 14 years old which we have so painfully and slowly evolved. The laws of half a dozen states are already far in advance of the proposed program and it falls below even the minimum standards the National Child Labor Committee has laid down *as essential* to do justice to children. If any employer in New York were to accept the proposed principles and practices he would find himself

violating, on a large scale, the labor and education laws of the state. This would be equally true in many other states.

The proposed program is reactionary and menacing on four counts: It increases the number of hours a child under sixteen may work by four hours a week. It extends the possible period of a day's work from 7 a.m. to 9 p.m. in place of the present law which provides for the closing of factories at 5 p.m. and stores at 6 p.m. for such immature children. It refers to the employment of children under sixteen in mines, although this is now prohibited by all important mining states. It specifies only the sixth grade as the educational requirement.

Exit Trotsky

The celebration of the tenth anniversary of the U. S. S. R. virtually coincided with the complete shelving of the man who next to Lenin had been the most important leader, the keenest mind and the most popular figure of the Revolution: Leon Trotsky. It is not altogether easy to understand the significance of the event. The vague and camouflaged language of the Russian leaders makes it difficult for an outsider to interpret politics in that country as in others. Of course, there are personal hatreds involved, but that is by no means all of the story. The significance of Trotsky's exit seems to lie in the following:

1. Trotsky stood for the rapid industrialization of Russia: Stalin and his group are satisfied with the peasant predominance.

2. Trotsky wanted to shift the burdens of the state from the city population to the peasant; Stalin's program includes peasant relief.

3. Trotsky does not believe that Russia will be able to survive as the only revolutionary country; he wants world-wide agitation for further revolt. Stalin's face is turned to internal affairs; he wants the friendship of other nations.

Stalin's victory is the most significant occurrence in Russian history since the announcement of the N. E. P. in 1921. It means the peasants are the ruling class.

The Naughty Russians

When you have been in the habit of telling your home constituencies that one of the obstacles to disarmament is a certain wild youth among the nations, it is somewhat disconcerting—one might almost say disarming—to sit appalled and hear that same wild, youthful nation propose for all the world to see, the one practical, honest, natural thing for a sincere disarmament conference to do: namely, start to disarm and keep on disarming till the job is finished.

"Impracticable." Yes, but why? Because the large powers would rather run the risks of war than the risks of peace. "Impossible." Yes, but why? Because these same powers are committed to imperialistic and nationalistic policies which cannot be carried through without armed force.

That *enfant terrible,* the Soviet government, has been damned by the press for its armaments, and now it is being damned because it proposes to wipe out armaments—especially in England, whose conservative cabinet has been plotting war on Russia more or less steadily for almost a decade, and which was prevented once from war only by the speedy action of British Labor.

Even the hard-boiled correspondents at Moscow seem generally agreed that the Russian masses and most of their leaders are passionately and sincerely eager for peace. It does not follow that the Soviet Government is ready to renounce the dictatorship or the remnants of the terror. And they may figure that a world devoid of strong military machines would afford a better field of operations for communistic agitation; though against this must be balanced the fact that radical rebellion often thrives on forceful suppression more than in a pacific environment. They certainly did not expect their project to be accepted.

Whatever degree of disingenuousness may lurk in the minds of the Russian delegates at Geneva, their mental reservations could hardly exceed those of the listeners whom they so ungenerously astonished.

The net result we think, will be distinctly to the good. A new standard of discussion has been set by which to evaluate what follows.

The Stuff Dreams Are Made Of

What is it that American college students dream about? How do they visualize the millennium? What announcement would produce most joy on the campus? No more exams! No more grades! Life would indeed take on new luster.

Well, this desirable state of affairs has prevailed in The College de France for nearly four hundred years. Here is an eminent institution of higher learning where all courses are free, all professors are of equal rank, class attendance is not required, no examinations are given, no degrees are granted. Surely this must be a loafer's paradise. Social frivolity must be all the rage. Doubtless sport is the all-consuming topic of conversation. The professors are probably on the verge of a nervous breakdown as a result of their strenuous efforts to interest students in their courses.

You never can tell. It may be that some students look upon college as a place to study and think and live, rather than as an adjunct to a stadium or a drill ground for military officers or a training center for captains of industry. At any rate the College de France numbers among its alumni many of the most illustrious scholars and scientists of Europe.

Building Tomorrow's World

Religion in Europe

A LITTLE while ago I was asked to address a band of American pilgrims on "The Trend of Religious Opinion in Europe." It took me quite a little while and a considerable mental effort to realise that I was regarded as a European! English people do not regard themselves as Europeans—merely as English. It puzzled me for a moment to know why I was expected to understand so much about Europe. I have not been much on the continent of Europe since the war, though of course I have been occasionally. I have, however, kept in touch, as far as I could, with some of the currents of religious opinion. And obviously I must accept the fact that I am included under the term "European"!

During the nine years which have elapsed since the Armistice, I am conscious of two powerful currents of thought, trending, however, in opposite directions: there is the tendency to sheer anarchism and there is the tendency to a much more rigid and irrational form of religion.

These two currents have the same source—the terrible shaking of the war. The younger generation is inclined to cry out that everything that the older generation did, believed and taught was wrong: otherwise how could it have landed the world in such a morass? To this type of mind no appeal to authority is of any avail at all. Indeed it is worse than useless, because to the anarchist there is a presumption that whatever was taught was wrong. This anarchism shows itself chiefly in our moral standards. To dispense with clothes—because our grandparents wore them, to exercise no discipline at all in sex matters—because our grandparents did, to "educate" children to do exactly what they like when they like—because our parents (and some of us) were "educated" to think that everything we wanted to do was wrong because we wanted to do it, this appears to them the most rational course of action imaginable. Certainly there is some excuse for it. I remember a dear old lady protesting against the now old-fashioned habit of wearing tea-gowns, or of wearing "blouses," on the sole ground that they "were so comfortable." It seemed to her obvious that if they were comfortable they were wrong.

ON the other hand, there are many people to whom anarchism is a creed so unspeakably uncomfortable as to be unendurable. To them the physical comfort (in a warm climate) of wearing no clothes at all—not even a tea-gown or a blouse—does not in the least compensate for the exquisite moral discomfort which such a proceeding would entail upon them. They have been so shaken and so lost that the one thing they desire is something that is firm, something that even the war has not shaken. Since (to be honest) they cannot find such a thing, they must needs be content with something that seems stable. Shutting their eyes, they accept at its face value the assurance that somebody somewhere really knows of something that is "whole as the marble, founded as the rock, as broad and general as the casing air." Hence the tendency to become a Roman Catholic believing in an infallible Church; or a Protestant believing in an infallible Book.

Among such believers are to be found not only, as might be expected, the least thoughtful or the least intelligent. The contrary is sometimes true. These are the people who have thought most earnestly, taken their religion most seriously, sought to put in it all that was most sincere, most thorough and most modern in knowledge and thought. These people who, before the outbreak of war, were moderate and serious optimists, having a reasoned basis (so they believed) for their optimism, or their meliorism, have had their conclusions shaken to the foundations and can no longer believe that these were so rational or so well-founded as they had supposed.

The suffering of the war—suffering which fell upon millions of entirely innocent persons—has caused this disillusionment; but not suffering alone. Had the suffering issued in a victory worth suffering for, and civilisation risen from its ashes in a new and more glori-

ous form—the naive expectation with which many entered and sustained the suffering of the war—all would have seemed worth while and the suffering itself bearable because comprehensible. The reverse, however, has proved true. Neither our intellectual travail before the war nor our heroic suffering during the war has brought us anything at all worth the cost of either. Reason itself condemns the process of reasoning by which we hoped it would. The more serious, the more rational, the process by which pre-war Europe had justified its optimism about the future, the clearer it seems that reasoning is of no avail. Civilisation was not civilised enough to prevent war and war, which was to be a "coming into our heritage," has proved to be nothing but a perfectly idiotic tragedy.

For the great majority of mankind it is, however, impossible to live without hope.

IT is, I believe, for this reason that people, not merely of the ignorant or hysterical kind but intelligent and cultured people, have felt revived in them once more the hope of a catastrophic intervention on the part of the Deity in the affairs of this distracted world. If Christians have begun to believe once more in an infallible Bible, verbally inspired from the first page to the last, it is in part, as I suggested, because they must have at least the illusion of holding on to something that is firm. The faith which reason had, if not given to them, at least justified to them, is no longer enough. It is too uncertain; it involves too much intellectual travail; and as we have seen men distrust intellectual travail altogether. The belief in an infallible Book is also due, however, to an intense desire for a more satisfactory world, coupled with a complete loss of all faith in the ability of humanity to produce it. During the war all our gains seemed to have turned to loss. The voice of the humanitarian and the internationalist was silenced or derided: statesmanship became a mere hymn of hate; the majestic achievements of science were used only to ruin us. It is clear then that there is no help in man! Yet, as we all know, it is not possible to live in a state of complete despair. Humanity has never done so; it never will. Man's necessity is God's opportunity. Man with all his stupendous intellectual achievement and moral heroism has made a complete failure of the world; then it is time for God to intervene! This world is hopelessly diseased and disordered: It is time for the divine Physician to take a hand in the remedy. The Bible is ransacked for prophecies concerning the end of the world. The fact that these prophecies have been used again and again to meet the despair of previous eras of great suffering and disappointment does not for a moment disturb the seekers. The application of prophecy on previous occasions was mistaken. It is not mistaken now because it must not be! Since man has failed, God must intervene, or we are reduced to despair—and to this we cannot consent. What has never been true before is true now. The end of the world is at hand.

TWO or three weeks ago I was discussing with Dr. Schweitzer the theological situation in modern central Europe. He observed (with a twinkle in his eye) that all the learned and reverend theologians, who had gone up into the air with horror at his suggestion that Christ expected the end of the world to come immediately, were now themselves expecting it immediately. It is from him that I have the assurance that belief in the immediate end of the world, and the return in bodily form of our Lord Christ, was not at all confined to the ignorant and unlearned, but held by some of the most serious-minded and truly religious people. He did not entirely agree with me in my view that this is fundamentally a religion of despair: he urged that they were not of a despairing turn of mind. However, I still believe that it is essentially what I say, and that such people preserve an appearance of serenity—and even its reality—only because they truly believe that God will shortly intervene in some catastrophic way, and that the troubles through which the world is now passing will shortly have an end. "Behold I make all things new."

In England we are not given to extremes, and believers in the approaching catastrophe are less numerous and perhaps less fanatical than in Central Europe: nevertheless they exist. They delight in an absolutely literal interpretation of the text of the Bible and when confronted with the insoluble difficulties of such a position reply exultantly "I cannot understand it but my faith is greater than my reason." It is true that such believers existed before the war; what is interesting and remarkable is that they are now more numerous and even more convinced.

On the other hand an intense mystical fervour characterises the convert to Roman Catholicism or Anglo-Catholicism, and great eloquence and power often characterise such speakers and writers. The processes of the reason are not merely transcended—they are derided. The absurdity of man's effort not indeed to *comprehend* but even to *apprehend* divine things is dwelt upon with positive unction. "Credo quia impossible."

I BELIEVE nevertheless that this phase must pass. It is despair of the human intelligence disguised, and, after all, we cannot live in despair even if the despair is in disguise.

The present tendency of religious beliefs is towards passivity. Those who hold such views as I have de-

scribed will do little or nothing to bring about the better world they so passionately desire, for they utterly distrust the capacity of man to help himself at all. If they prophesy the end of the world, the end of the world is at hand. To attempt to order the world for the better is simply to infringe divine dignity. It is useless—it is profane—for man to take in hand work that belongs to God alone.

The natural unwillingness of slothful man to exert himself partly explains this attitude of mind. We have tried so hard—so cruelly, so tragically hard—to better things and we have completely failed. How good to rest and leave it in the hands of God! If our sloth can be disguised to us as religion, so much the better.

This dream will not last. It is a nightmare. Europe will emerge from its nightmare of suffering and failure. The very worth and character of those who now are preaching this gospel of despair convinces me that they will not preach it long. An indomitable hope rises in the hearts of men. It is not in humanity—at least in western humanity—to resign itself to "submission to the inscrutable will of God." Already we begin to question and to challenge; at last we shall begin to act.

A. MAUDE ROYDEN.

Recent Gains in the Quest for Peace*

NORMAN THOMAS

IT is recorded in the Scriptures that Balak, King of the Moabites, was sore distressed because Balaam, a rather expensive imported prophet whom he had hired to curse the children of Israel was constrained to bless them. I am no prophet, but like Balaam I fear truth may compel me to disappoint my friends, the editors, and somewhat invert Balaam's conduct in that I may curse while they have begged me to find reason to bless.

The difficulty of reporting substantial gains in the quest for peace is the greater because we are confined to an examination of American policy and cannot consider some definitely encouraging factors in the European scene. Thus limited we shall be forced to agree almost without argument that in official government activities there have been no recent gains in American relations with other nations. Perhaps it is more accurate to say there have been no positive gains. Negatively we can comfort ourselves that things might have been worse—indeed we have had some narrow escapes. We might have been at war with Mexico but for a public protest which President Coolidge was forced to hear. Perhaps it was the same protest though far less intense which has temporarily modified our aggressive action in Central America and brought it to pass that the Administration graciously consents to let General Moncado run for election despite his former armed opposition to our present puppet incumbent of the presidency, General Diaz. (Of course we don't protest about Nicaragua as earnestly as about Mexico. What are our marines for except to handle a little country like that?)

In like manner public opposition to any considerable war with China and a general realization that we were in a fair way of being used to pull British chestnuts out of the fire have helped to save us from a situation which threatened not many months ago to mean military and naval operations in grim earnest. It must be confessed that this eleventh hour sanity of the American government was considerably aided by the disintegration of the Nationalist forces in China, the result of which was not only to postpone the day of reckoning with the Chinese but to give to our State Department an opportunity to refrain from pushing the Nanking ultimatum and yet save its face which latter takes the place in governments of that superfluous and annoying commodity, a social conscience.

To complete the list of negative satisfaction it must be recorded that neither on the debt issue nor the big navy issue has the government gone over lock, stock and barrel to the jingoes. To be sure, there is something rather shabby about these negative satisfactions. We grow tired of consoling ourselves with that last recourse of the hard pressed optimist, "it might have been worse." Nevertheless as recently as last Easter some of us would have rejoiced with exceeding great joy had we been assured that Christmas 1927 would have dawned upon an America whose guns were stilled and whose armies were at rest even though the martial bugle might wake some of them to the Day of Peace in places so distant as the far ports of China and the jungles of Central America.

THE combination of Coolidge caution and public opinion which has saved us from more aggressive intervention has not as yet resulted in any governmental action whatsoever looking toward the victorious establishment of peace. The Administration's rather feeble gesture toward further naval disarmament came to nothing except mutual recriminations between British and American tories. For the rest Mr. Coolidge has fallen back on that ancient maxim

* Fourth in a series of articles on "Recent Gains in American Civilization."
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of the hard pressed politician: "the less you do the fewer enemies you will have." His State Department has done nothing about the League of Nations. With almost open delight his government welcomed European doubts of the acceptability of our World Court reservations as a reason to drop the whole matter. He has negotiated no treaties of arbitration. He has met M. Briand's invitation to outlaw war between ourselves and France with nothing warmer than diplomatic courtesy. Very recently he has been quoted as doubting the constitutionality of a more general attempt to outlaw war along the lines of the Knox-Levinson-Borah plan. Sincere lovers of peace may argue that in one or another of these failures there is no real loss in the struggle against war. But however they may differ as to the wisdom of various proposed peace panaceas they can hardly find encouragement in the fact that our government has ignored them all. Obviously it is not in the line of government activity that we shall—since the now somewhat remote Washington conference on Naval Armaments—discover recent gains for peace.

THESE gains, such as they are, lie almost entirely in the field of public opinion. They may be summed up in a word: we are learning to substitute realism for romanticism in facing the problem of war and peace. To say that along this line the American people is making headway is not to affirm that a balance as between gains and losses would be favorable. It may well be that the final result must be written in the red on the debit side of our national account with the unknown future. Still less is it to affirm that such gains as we have made are adequate. It is quite possible by choosing our facts to show that we have made some progress since, let us say, 1900. But in this case as in others when we engage in high debate whether we are better or worse than our fathers it must be remembered that we can answer the question by no single reference to a conveniently fixed point in the past. For instance, the American worker may enjoy modern plumbing which was denied the brilliant lords and ladies of Queen Elizabeth's court. That does not mean that he will necessarily feel as well off as Sir Walter Raleigh. We may have made distinct gains in understanding certain phases of the peace problem since 1900 and yet the menace to peace may be as great or greater than it was at the earlier date because the stream of events has rushed forward in a more tumultuous torrent. To use a somewhat crude simile: the decided progress that a group of men may make in learning to handle gun powder will not necessarily be of much avail if they are suddenly called upon to handle not gun powder but T. N. T. The present situation as it affects world peace economically, racially and politically is more obviously complex than at the end of the nineteenth century. War has acquired new and infinitely greater terrors. The problem for the peace lover is not merely to prove that he has made progress since the beginning of the new century but to prove that he has made sufficient progress to be able to deal with the new set of facts that confronts him.

Let me say honestly for the good of my soul that from this point of view I am not an optimist about the outlook for peace. I am fearful for the role my country may play as the greatest empire in the world. Such favorable circumstances as I think I find in the situation warrant no easy confidence that we ourselves or our children shall not know the horrors of a war in comparison to which that struggle which we now call the World War may seem like a skirmish. They merely warrant a conviction that the struggle for peace is not hopeless and that we may perchance escape the dreadful necessity of apologizing to our children that we have brought them into this world only to rear them as choice sacrifices to the Moloch of war, tragic victims of their parents' imperfect loyalties and their mighty stupidities, greeds, prejudices, fears and hates.

WHEN we come to examine that growth in realism which is the encouraging gain in our approach to the problem of peace our inquiry falls into several divisions. The first concerns the growth of realism in an understanding of war itself. Our minstrels no longer sing of arms and the hero. Men do not write of the World War in the spirit of Scott's novels or the "When Knighthood Was in Flower" school of literature so popular at the turn of the century. I shall not speak of a Stallings, a Dos Passos or a Hemingway to substantiate this claim. A novelist of a somewhat more conventional type dealing not with the World War but with those older conflicts already touched with romance in the American imagination has given a far more realistic picture of what those struggles meant than did novelists of an older day. James Boyd, in "Drums" and still more in "Marching On" describes the Revolution and the Civil War in terms of the experience not of fortunate adventurers or incredible supermen but of the common man, loyal, brave, bewildered, hungry, thirsty, often fatigued to a point where death would be release. Perhaps if our boys have enough of this sort of literature they will be slower to answer by some primitive impulse to the beat of the drum. Indeed I had hardly written this paragraph when my eye fell upon the schoolboy bits of realism in dealing with war published in the magazine of a school that is proud of the number of its graduates who served in France. At least these boys are aware what war is.

It is not merely on this point that our generation and the children whom we are rearing have a fairly

clear idea of what war means. Besides knowing something of the "boredom of the trenches punctuated by the brutality of battle and the bayonet charge"; they know something of the artificial character of that propaganda by which the martial spirit is maintained. They know that wars are not fought in a pure passion for some clearly seen ideal but rather in a wild emotional orgy in which the main ingredients are fear and hate. It is not likely that our clear sighted younger generation will listen with acquiescence or approval while they are told that it is possible to kill men in love or drive them by the bayonet to any sort of paradise.

Shortly after the return of our troops I received a remarkable letter from one of them who had read something I had written in THE WORLD TOMORROW. He told briefly but vividly in terms almost worthy of Barbusse what the war had actually meant to him and to his comrades. Then he described their welcome home, the speeches they had listened to, and the well grounded fear he had that all their bitter and truthful personal memories would be crowded out by that curious and inaccurate social memory, that war myth, which politicians, preachers and speakers—mostly stay-at-homes themselves—insisted on creating for the soldiers. I have not heard from that man save for the one letter. I should like to think that even in the activities of the American Legion he had discovered some stubborn resistance to the growth of this romantic idealization of the nature of war. In my own experience I have been amazed to discover how readily all sorts of audiences accept as a matter of course a vivid description of what war is and a more vivid forecast of what, thanks to modern science, it is likely to become. That Scandinavian scientist, Nobel, inventor of dynamite and founder of the peace prize was mistaken in thinking that sheer terror at the horror of modern scientific warfare would be a guarantee of peace. Nevertheless to strip war of its trappings of glory, to describe it as now it can be told is an immense gain to believers in the possibility of world peace. Meanwhile it is well worth saying that even in our mechanized world such new fields as aviation offer to adventurous youth at least as much fascination and appeal as does that terrible treadmill of collective homicide which we call war.

A SECOND and closely related discovery about war which has been made by our generation is its futility to achieve the end it nominally seeks. The thousands of men and women who accepted President Wilson's war aims at their face value were, if they remained capable of thought at all, compelled by the results of the struggle to admit that either these aims were not themselves true or that war was a self-defeating means of obtaining them. Perhaps the soundest conclusion was that insofar as there were ideal aims in the war they were largely defeated by the method chosen to enforce them. The war to end war left behind it innumerable seeds of further conflict planted in the lush soil of men's smoldering desires for revenge. The war to make the world safe for democracy was followed by the widespread swing away from the whole ideal of democracy. Once the passions of war were unloosed it was seen that all sorts of incalculable consequences might be expected. No governments can propagate hate and fear and then turn them off as you turn off water running at the tap. No politicians, editors and preachers can deliberately stir up the masses to a drunken orgy of the emotions and then bid them instantly return to sanity. Such is the power of man to create his own defence mechanism that probably a way will be found to sanctify the next war if and when it comes and to provide it with aims worthy of Christian soldiers. Nevertheless the process of thus bathing the grim and sordid realities of war in the light that never was on land or sea unquestionably will be harder so long as memory and the printed word keep alive the story of the decade which followed America's entrance into the struggle to bring about those ideal purposes which Woodrow Wilson so eloquently described on April 6, 1917.

Fortunately it is not only the idealists who are defeated in war but also those hard faced men who boast that they deal with realities. Little wars sometimes pay or seem to pay but there is no halfway responsible statesman today who will not agree with Norman Angell that the hope of conspicuous national gain out of war is the great illusion. The other day the British Field Marshal, Sir William Robertson, called war not only "a pure horror" but also, what may be more important, "a fool's game." Look at the record and see how precarious are the fruits of victory. Russia was defeated and got Lenin and perhaps the most significant social experiment in history. Italy was nominally victorious and got Mussolini and an extraordinary twentieth century model of despotism. England was victorious. She destroyed the navy of her chief rival and almost destroyed her merchant marine only to find that she had struck a terrible blow at her own prosperity. France was victorious but victory brought little relief from her nervous apprehensions for the future. No wonder that responsible statesmen and leaders in the world of economic affairs as well as of politics feel obliged to protest that they do not want war. Mr. Thomas W. Lamont's recent speech about the peaceful aims of bankers which was ponderously applauded by our leading editorial writers was substantially true. What he overlooked was the fact that these same bankers do want an imperialistic policy which logically leads

to war. The loan he recommends to Japanese railroad interests in Manchuria may be far more potent as a cause for war than his verbal protestations of love of peace. It does not follow that the latter are insincere or that this new consciousness in the financial world of the folly and danger of war from the standpoint of material interests is not a potent factor for preserving peace. It is certainly encouraging that most labor unions officially recognize not only that war but also imperialism is no boon to the working class. This official recognition needs to grow in intensity of feeling and intelligence of planning against war and imperialism before it will be the effective bulwark of peace that we desire. Its existence is a heartening fact.

IN this discussion we have already indicated a point which is now desirable to stress as our third division in the understanding of war and its problems. Even here in America we are becoming more realistic as to the causes of war. No myth of consequence has ever been as thoroughly and as rapidly exploded as the myth of the sole guilt of Germany in the last war. No one who does not feel that he is caught on dress parade longer professes faith in the beautiful fairy story of the pure and virtuous allied St. George against the wicked German dragon. It has been refuted by the secret treaties and documents from the archives in Moscow, Berlin, Vienna and London. It has been refuted by the unguarded admissions of the principal actors in the tragedy. It is worthy of note that Senator Harding, later elected president of the United States by some 7,000,000 plurality, said in so many words that we fought Germany in defense of our national rights and not "to purge the old world of the accumulated ills of rivalry and greed." This comes perilously near an admission of the truth that we fought Germany at the moment when our national interests, owing to our very partial interpretation of neutrality had become bound up with the interests of the allies.

Says Professor Beard in commenting on this realistic development of American public opinion: "Though cautious editors long ignored the researches of scholars, though aged clubmen and embattled women continued to fight the war along canonical lines, the task of keeping alive the old reverie was far beyond their power." Even against the socialists in recent years the politicians have not thought it worth while to fight the war over again. In many years of strenuous campaigns I have scarcely heard any heckler or opposing speaker dwell with any particular emphasis upon my own well known opposition to the World War. It is always dangerous to generalize from an individual experience but in this case I cannot but feel that my experience has significance.

SO far we have been discussing the causes of the World War and the growth of public opinion in regard to them. I sometimes think that a certain hardness of the American temper and our long continued bitterness toward conscientious objectors and political prisoners was due not to the sense of triumph of a victorious people but to the smoldering resentment of a country most of whose citizens consciously or subconsciously felt that they had been fooled into a crusade with results far other than they had been promised. The really significant question, however, is whether this conviction that the causes of the World War were other than they seemed can be carried over into an examination of the causes of war in general. Here also I am inclined to think that there is ground for hope. The American people are, alas, drifting down the stream of empire. Nevertheless their dangerous old innocence which to foreigners looked like pure hypocrisy is going.

Some four or five years ago I thought and said that if the British acquired their empire "in a fit of absent-mindedness" the Americans were extending theirs while resolutely denying that there was such a thing or ever would be. That, I think, is no longer so. As I read the newspapers and periodicals, meet individuals, and address audiences, I am persuaded that increasingly Americans are learning to look for the petroleum behind the piety, the sugar behind the sanctity, the rubber plantations or investment opportunities behind the manifest destiny which pushes American economic penetration into all quarters of the globe and sends out the marines to protect the adventurous dollar of the stay-at-home investor. There is always the danger that this realistic knowledge may simply result in cynicism or perhaps in open profession of imperial aims. It has, however, already proved immensely useful in keeping the American people from rushing to fight the battles of such eminent patriots as Messrs. Doheny, Sinclair and Hearst against the workers and peons of Mexico. It is, moreover, giving a powerful stimulus to a study of problems of foreign relations that once seemed almost nonexistent especially to the people of our inland plains.

FINALLY I am convinced that even peace advocates are learning greater realism. To be a peace advocate is no longer as pleasant as it was in the halcyon days when people generally disbelieved in the likelihood of war, or at any rate of a war big enough to involve the United States. To the syrup of good intentions peace advocates today must add the iron of a reasoned will to pay the price of ending war or their efforts will come to nothing. Most people still want peace more intelligently than in earlier days. Yet to want it as earnestly and creatively as Jane Addams invites from our professional patriots an

abuse that no one showers upon the efforts of William Randolph Hearst (newspaper proprietor and absentee landlord of a vast Mexican domain), to stir up trouble between the United States and Mexico by the use of forged documents. That is one of the many paradoxes of the present situation. Yet this very fact helps to impose on true peace advocates a definiteness of purpose and plan that the older orthodox peace societies even before the war had begun to lack. The one unforgivable sin in the quest for peace is such innocuous and ineffective propriety as characterizes the poor old American Peace Society. To wrangle about the road to peace may weaken us sadly in the face of the common enemy but it at least implies life and energy.

Even church declarations show the fortunate influence of this new realism and earnestness. The editors of THE WORLD TOMORROW have hopefully sought to impress this fact upon my mind. I acknowledge it. The official Methodist declaration, for instance, may logically be used in another war by Methodist conscientious objectors to prove that they like the Quakers belong to "a sect whose creed or principles are opposed to war." Somehow I doubt if they will get much support from their own bishops on that claim and I know that formal resolutions against war and compulsory military training in schools and colleges made by church bodies, like similar resolutions from some labor organizations, do not mean much by way of action. The churches have not learned to fight war as once they fought the saloon. Nevertheless there is within organized religion a larger and more determined minority of resolute pacifists than in prewar days and I hope that we may look to the churches to act as a far more effective brake on the chariot of Mars than in the days of the Spanish War or even in that greater struggle when President Wilson so successfully won the clergy to support his eloquent gospel of salvation by battle. It is a vivid memory of my boyhood that one of the finest men I ever knew unhesitatingly preached from his pulpit a resounding sermon in complete support of President Cleveland's needlessly bellicose threat to Great Britain over the Venezuela boundary dispute. It is improbable that such a man today could so easily be swept from the ministry of the Prince of Peace into the service of a tribal deity, Jehovah, the man of war.

SO we draw to the end of our cautious appraisal of recent gains in the American attitude toward peace. That there are menacing offsets to these gains in the loss of belief in the possibility of permanent peace, in the deliberate militarization of our choicest youth under the national defence act, and most of all in the relentless march of American imperialism needs only to be stated again to readers of THE WORLD TOMORROW by way of reminder.

Of peace plans there is scarcely any end. Arbitration, the World Court, the League of Nations, disarmament, a referendum before a declaration of war, the outlawry of war—these and many other programs have their sincere advocates and critics. It is well to remember that these plans are by no means mutually exclusive and that none of them nor all of them together is a panacea for the devastating plague of war. In some of these immediate plans, notably the outlawry of war, I am a hearty believer. I rejoice in the probability that the next session of Congress may see fruitful discussion of them. But for the great boon of peace we shall have to pay a bigger price than the adoption of any specific plan within the framework of a political and economic system which rests on the exploitation of weaker nations and of the working classes within the strong nations as its foundation stone. This is not the place to repeat or rephrase what I have often said on the causes and cure of war. Rather it is the time to remind myself and whatever readers these pages may have that the struggle against war cannot yet be called hopeless, that in proportion to the efforts that have been put forth in behalf of peace results have been achieved, and that the Great War itself and its tragic aftermath have prepared men's minds for a new and more intelligent crusade for peace.

NATURE'S RADICALISM

SOME mysterious unconscious impulse appears to be a concomitant of natural order. This impulse has always been unsettling the existing conditions and pushing forward, groping after something more elaborate and intricate than what already existed. This vital impulse, étan vital *as Bergson calls it, represents the inherent radicalism of nature herself. This power that makes for salutary readjustment, or righteousness in the broadest sense of the term, is no longer a conception confined to poets and dreamers, but must be reckoned with by the most exacting historian and the hardest-headed man of science."—James Harvey Robinson, in* The Journal of Philosophy, Psychology and Scientific Methods.

BORAH

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The Balance Sheet*

Debits and Credits in Negro-White Relations

CHARLES S. JOHNSON

THE idea of improvement always carries along with it some standard of reference, to mark the degrees of "more and less." Here, the postulates are determined by the theories, and the theories by a variety of circumstances from economic programs to religion. It is a curious fact that these standards become personal and emotional and sectional matters, conceived and felt differently. They have not been defined except with trite vagueness. They are, by the requirements of their nature, to be felt rather than postulated. This helps to explain why the status of the Negro in the idyllic old South, conceived both as fixed and just, was so vastly different from a full citizen's relationship; why "The Negro's place" and, let us say, the Golden Rule, or the "guaranties" detailed in special amendments to the Constitution, clash so violently in principle.

Where race relations are regarded as an isolated phenomenon, the strange and unpredictable contours assumed in place and time, breed only hoplessness and fall back, without meaning or aid, upon the equally strange and unpredictable nature of man. Fundamentally, one determinant of the character of race relattions is the conceived Negro status. The first status of Negroes was not so much a matter of race as of class and religion; they were indentured servants on the same plane with white servants who were also sold to planters. It was fifty years before an act was passed to determine who should be slaves. As slavery became profitable more binding acts followed. The relations were those of Christians to pagans, who were to be proselyted. Conditions were so unsolidified that further laws were required to prevent manumission by will. Negroes fought in unsegregated regiments in the Revolutionary war, and, in the South, with the spread of Protestantism before 1800, worshiped with whites in the same churches. One full-blooded Negro sent by North Carolina white persons to Princeton, to see if a Negro could be educated, returned to preach to whites in the Presbyterian churches of the state, and conducted a classical school from which were graduated, among others, two sons of Chief Justice Henderson; Mangum, the great Southern Whig; and the grandfather of a famous Episcopal Bishop, who boarded in the home of the Negro. When Andrew Jackson was inaugurated, Negroes were at the dinner.

Although none of these things could happen today in the same sections, it scarcely means that relations are not improved. For the standard of relations were so utterly different as not to interfere with the relatively fixed status of the slave. When came the necessity of justifying slavery, the theories were altered and eventually crystallized into the dogma of an unchangeable inferiority which has been with us, in various forms, ever since. The full gamut has been run, from the first fumbling scientific assertions of uneducatability, "the fixed and eternally inseparable result of the Negro organism, which without a re-creation—another brain —could no more be otherwise than that water could run up a hill"—to the Biblical passages adduced, at first hesitatingly and finally in a vast unbroken chorus, in defense of slavery. These convictions deepened with every occasion for defense, either against argument or contradictory fact, into an antagonism which became solidified and arrogant at the top, and among the poorer classes, who were impoverished and debased by the system, into a resentful hostility.

FOR the attitudes governing race relations, one overshadowing memory survives,—the Civil War, and the period of Reconstruction. Pride humbled, wealth lost, grandeur gone, illusions shattered, and with this a haunting fear of their former slaves, there endured a bitter hatred of the powers that held them there, a menace. Secret violence followed, glorified through the first Ku Klux Klan into a virtue. No period has been so full of hatreds. Unavoidable, perhaps, but the whole course of race relations in America since has been a softening of these grimaces. Here were born the ogres: "Would you want your daughter to marry a Nigger," "White supremacy;" the orthodoxy: "Blood will tell," "The Solid South;" the religion of conscious "white domination." Slowly the poor whites came to life again, conscious of the Negro who carried the sting of his competition beyond slavery and defiled work for him by having been a slave to it. Slowly the poor whites came into power, and becoming articulate, through their leaders, reduced to cold, brutal ritual a position which could not be reached by counter argument. Judge Benjamin Tillman, of Quitman, Georgia, summed up this philosophy in a burst of feeling which stands as the keynote of a period not so remote:

* Fifth in a series of articles on "Recent Gains in American Civilization."
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"The Negro bears about him a birthright of inferiority that is as unalterable as eternity. He who, in the morning of Creation, set the shifting sands as a barrier to the mad waves of the mighty deep and said thus far, has also set His seal upon the Negro forever in his black skin, kinky hair, thick lips, flat nose, double layer of skull, different anatomy, as well as analogy, from white men. His stupid intellect is fulfilled in prophecy, uttered thousands of years ago, but no less true today, 'A servant of servants shalt thou be.'"

The North had become contrite and vacillated indecisively between abstract justice for the Negro and magnanimity toward its late enemy. "Non-interference," "The South's peculiar situation," "Let the South solve its own problem," "The South needs no meddling interference,"—these were the key phrases. Jim Crow laws throughout the Southern states became epidemic. Between 1881 and 1907 all the southern states enacted laws separating the races on railroad cars, street cars and schools, laws excluding Negroes from jury service and the primaries, while the northern states were enacting Civil Rights Bills. On the wild wave of the poor white's coming to power, few voices dared be raised in protest. Coming to power meant coming into political office and the redoubling of the fear of losing this power through colored adherents to the opposing party. There were evasions of the amendments, intimidations, circumventing procedure, and movement toward a codification of the new common law, a fixing of those complaints of Negroes which are heard to the very present.

The practice of lynching took on a new impetus; it became a hybrid sport-vengeance. Invitations to some of these were sent in advance to reporters as remote as New York. In 1892 the number of Negroes lynched was 155. The Church was quiet. "The purity of white womanhood" was a loaded phrase exploding with a terrible meaning; never defined, but the definition of any conduct which was displeasing. It held in check, by its vague but certain violence, the first faltering steps toward a reconsideration of race relations. South Carolina, quicker to respond to the urging of white labor with its strategic baggage of emotion, forced cotton manufacturing industries by law to institute race separation from work rooms to entrances, and by one stroke, excluded Negroes from every textile mill in the state.

II

Steadily southward and westward the Negroes were being pushed losing their trades, leaving the old farms, unable to get work in the North though unhindered in the exercise there of citizenship rights. The Press of the North and South held them between pictures of the romantic "uncles and aunties, who were Chesterfields in black" and criminal, immoral, shiftless characters. The Atlanta riot broke, with more bitterness and the squelching again of feeble but persistent efforts to build a new structure within the shell of the old. The dribbling of Negroes northward became noticeable. Two National organizations were formed in New York with the first formal inter-racial boards of control, one to work against the spread of more vicious laws, the other to work with the Negroes themselves.

The suddenness and phenomenal changes of the World war drew together the scattered threads of race relations ,and by its profound disturbance of such poise as had been reached, shifted the standard of relations to a full new basis. More than a million Negroes moved from the South, from agriculture to industry, from country to city. The increased proportions of Negroes brought limitations of their privileges in the North, and, in the South out of fear of serious loss, a weakening of some of the more acute restrictions and abuses; there were race riots in Washington, Chicago, Omaha, Helena (Arkansas), East St. Louis. Tulsa. Passion ran high and blood was shed. The prophets saw race war ahead, the blackest period of history because the most mutually destructive Negroes, a hopeless minority, were meeting force with force. Physical repugnance in housing was being expressed through the sharp finality of bombs. Economic rivalry was fiercest at precisely the moment Negroes were moving deepest into the web of industrialism. They broke the steel strike in Pittsburgh and the pent resentment of organized labor exploded. White employers in the North, urged on by a vast unprecedented need for workers, encouraged the migrating numbers; white employers in the South, threatened full and hard for the first time with the loss of cotton pickers, cooks and easy, unprotesting labor, became attentive long enough to hear new principles of race relations. The Atlanta Plan of Interracial Co-operation was born, a meeting across the barrier of race and inviolable traditions, to discuss the sentimental sources of unrest among Negroes, to forestall violence and soften public opinion. Negroes of character might be addressed as "Mr." and "Mrs."; if too much publicity was not given in the South they might meet and sit together in the same room,—the more acute and demonstrable abuses of peonage and lynching could be attacked; if separate accomodations were embedded as an inviolable part of the public mind, the Negroes at least might be given a closer approximation to the "equal accommodations" mentioned abstractly in the laws. The work of the Southern Interracial Committee, following the more tentative and respectful activities of the scattered college professors and a few liberal ministers, spread and over 800 committees were organized in southern counties. Women of the South's finest families and traditions stripped of its power with one revolutionary declaration the never failing appeal to hostile passion and display:

"We believe that no falser appeal can be made to southern manhood than that mob violence is necessary for the protection of womanhood or that the practice of lynching and burning human beings is an expression of chivalry.

"We believe that these methods are no protection to anything or anybody but that they jeopardize every right and every security that we possess."

The press caught the spirit, the "better citizens" became quietly active; small but significant changes occurred. The Rosenwald school program was supported to reduce the disparity in provisions for education. While the Governor of Mississippi was storming against Negroes, the Governor of Georgia with amazing boldness was putting down his foot on peonage, North Carolina was breaking away on a frank program of education for Negroes, and the Governor's wife was lecturing for improved race relations.

III

THE shifting status of Negroes along with the increasing standards generally of the white population has shoved back the horizon to new necessities in interracial adjustment, new principles of race relations. Rarely does development come in an unbroken course. The present state of these relations, however, may be seen now fully, against the background of the past. Seventeen cities in the North within the past four years have been conspicuous for clashes in housing; resistance to the "invasion of white neighborhoods," and vehement charges of "property depreciation" have grown as the Negro population spread. Segregation, instead of lessening, has tended to increase. The Supreme Court decided against the validity of city ordinances segregating neighborhoods, but restrictive compacts were drawn among white property owners which accomplished the same fact, more effectively. Governors, Mayors, and Congressmen, gave the support of their names to anti-lynching legislation. An anti-lynching bill passed by the Lower House of Congress was filibustered to death in the Senate, with no important popular protest following. A wave of intolerance curiously linked with Protestantism gave a new sanction to "holding the Negro in his place." Indiscriminately intolerant toward Catholics, Jews, foreigners, the Klan has aided its own death through duplicity and greed. Virginia with belated fright passed an unenforceable race purity law to detect traces of Negro blood, and disclosed to itself some rather shocking revelations. Aiming a blow at Hampton, it passed legislation against race contact, and in Richmond indulged in the extraordinary pettiness of holding up an appropriation for the Public Library because a white man wanted the old Negro janitor's job. Atlanta, Georgia, and Charleston, South Carolina, have put forth bills to prevent Negro barbers from handling white trade; the growing labor consciousness of the South is barring Negroes from trades; northern universities have introduced limitations on Negro students and some have quietly barred them entirely. Agitation for separate Negro schools in the North has met with some success, and schools have been established in certain states which have Civil Rights Bills. Five northern states have had anti-intermarriage bills in their legislatures, but like Iowa, discovering that there had been no intermarriage, failed to push the point. Personal privileges have been limited for Negroes in every city where the population has become large, making it appear to many, that no measurable gains have been made at all in race relations; rather, that these relations merely have been levelled over a wider area.

Science, which at first lent itself so completely to the defence of popular desires has made a major, even if not calculated contribution, to race relations by its increasing willingness to follow facts wherever they lead; by modifying theories based too rashly upon guesses and prejudiced opinion; and by a disposition to admit facts of race which contradict even the most cherished theories. The long line of measurements of racial difference beginning in phrenology and ending in the intelligence tests has not now the most authentic support of science. It refuses to assert that there are fixed differences between superior and inferior races:

"The various races and peoples of the world are essentially equal in mental ability and capacity for civilization."

Instinct, the postulated seat of convenient prejudices based on natural aversions and antipathies has been questioned, granting at least the hope of improvement in human nature. It is now no more a part of the best intelligence to entertain the old theories about race than to hold the old theories about the mental status of women.

THE newer generations of whites and Negroes, have, fortunately, broken memories of bitterness in past relations, and in the universities, where there is contact, a few important movements have begun which have not been wholly without southerners. The Negro-Caucasian Club at the University of Michigan, the Interracial Discussion groups at the University of Chicago, the International House at Columbia are perhaps the best developed of these. The University of North Carolina has entertained at least three Negro lecturers. The conference at Vassar, and the admission this year of a Negro girl at Bryn Mawr, are flashes of a new spirit of youth in race relations. Moreover, this has been a consistent and important item in the program of youth movements. The strike of white Gary high school students for an "all white High School" was a movement backed undoubtedly

by community sentiment for separate schools in this Northern state. Significantly, however, as the wide discussion indicated, the move was not taken for granted. It was rebuked as a step backward even by the conservative press, and regarded as "unsportsmanlike and uncitizenlike" by student publications of the North.

At least it can be said that the taboo on the Negro has been broken, and the question admitted to discussion. This discussion has been fierce and heated but seldom does it reach the extravagance of twenty or even ten years ago. Texas, now, is the capital of the Ku Klux Klan. Its lily white primary law was challenged and declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, and it set about to devise new circumventions. Yet, in the same town in which John R. Shillady, in open daylight and with popular condonement, less than ten years ago was attacked on the street, because he represented the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Owen R. Lovejoy in replying to one in his audience who asked the ultimate question about Negro rights, was applauded for his bold and unequivocal position.

The policy of the government in Haiti and the Virgin Islands is a contradiction of its highest principles. The subject, despite its embarrassment, is discussed. A commission of investigation has published a volume which makes no compromises with principle or expediency; and, through the irony of entangled emotions and interests the Negro president of Haiti dined with President Coolidge, without a murmur of comment from the press.

Whether as cause or effect, the new self-consciousness of Negroes, following the war, the measure of economic freedom and perhaps most importantly their removal by more than a generation from the status of slavery, has turned them back frankly and critically upon themselves. The lessened sensitiveness, the new confidence, the capture of beauty, the frank return to the rich materials of their own lives and racial history, have started a subtle shifting of emotional emphasis from problem angles to art and softened relations perceptibly. Roland Hayes, Paul Robeson, and Gilpin have created in their art a common and impeccable bond across the line of race. This influence is noticeable in the elevated prestige of the artists of the race. It has created for them a "renaissance," a new freedom of cultural intercourse, and set new patterns of the Negro as the foundation of a new principle of relations. Nor can the strange, mad sweep of Negro folk creations—the spirituals, African art, the dance, jazz, and the Blues—be ignored in the new tolerance and curiosity about Negro life. This has been followed by demand for articles, stories, plays and poetry which offer glimpses into this world of human life so long ignored. It is significant that the white writers of the New South—Stribling, Shands, Clement Wood, Du Bose Heyward, Julia Peterkin, Paul Green, Guy Johnson—are finding the materials of Negro life a medium for the highest expression of their art. As an authentic approval of these values, Paul Green's play of Negro life, "In Abraham's Bosom," received the Pulitzer Prize for 1926; Julian Harris of the Columbia, Georgia, *Enquirer-Sun,* received for his brilliant editorials against racial and religious bigotry, the award for greatest service contributed by a newspaper in 1925. The Dallas (Texas) Players won the Belasco Cup in amateur productions with "The No 'Count Boy," a wistfully beautiful story of a Negro lad. Moreover, these same players produced "Black Belt," a play striking at the heart of lynching in Dallas. More books on the Negro have appeared in the past four years than in the full generation before. Courses of study have been introduced into universities both in North and South. A notable shift is observed in the attitude toward Negroes and white leadership. Insistence upon the tutelage regarded as essential ten years ago has relaxed. Howard University has a Negro president and Fisk University a white president and both with a mixed faculty.

There is still segregation, though with the possible difference that the exceptions provoke less commotion than formerly. There is an adjustment in working relations in advance of the status of twenty years ago, but without the freedom of the trades for Negroes characteristic of forty years ago. The next few years may bring new complications with Mexican labor, or as a result of the introduction of the recently invented cotton picking machinery in the South. Most of the old inflaming slogans are dead or dying, the ban is being lifted on voting, the use of this vote has at least in two known instances in the South aided the election of intelligent and fair-minded officers. Lynchings have decreased 90 per cent since 1892,—and it is now more active guilt to hold silence on it. The South is finding a new interest in business and industry, and relations are becoming less personal. All but eleven of the International Unions have removed the constitutional bars to Negro membership, and although this was scarcely more than a gesture of common-sense, admissions of Negroes to their organizations have increased. The 18th Amendment has contributed to the stirring of conscience on the 14th and 15th.

There was a time, and not so long ago, when even the most reasonable men recoiled before the meaning of a race relation founded upon the highest principles of ethics and Christianity, accepted by themselves. And although as numbers go, few have actually achieved a full adjustment to it, or perhaps will do so in many decades, it can be counted as perhaps the greatest gain that it is not now so difficult to accept the principle.

Not in the Headlines

AGNES A. SHARP

Girl Scout Uniform "Too Militaristic"

162,000 girl scouts have abandoned their old uniforms as "too militaristic" and have adopted a more suitable costume.

Mexico to Have a Federal Labor Board

A Federal Board of Conciliation and Arbitration, for settlement of labor disputes in which the Mexican Government is involved, has been established by an executive decree of President Elias Calles. The Board is to be composed of an equal number of members representing labor and employers, with one member to be appointed by the Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Labor, and "it shall have the power to enforce its decisions." The Board is also empowered to settle labor disputes which involve two or more states, or in case the majority of representatives of an industry and the workers request the intervention of the Federal Government.

Can It Be Done in Massachusetts?

A movement to obtain the abolition of capital punishment, in which clergymen of the State will have a leading part, has been launched in Massachusetts. Letters to approximately 500 ministers, asking cooperation have been sent out by the Massachusetts Council for the Abolition of the Death Penalty. The organization will circulate petitions for the purpose of obtaining 100,000 signatures to show to the State senators and representatives the sentiment in favor of substitution of the life sentence for the present penalty. A bill to this effect will be presented at the session of the Legislature beginning in January.

"Books vs. Battleships"

Dr. James I. Wyer, director of the N. Y. State Library, recently listed 15 "decisive" books. He stated that each book named had been vastly more potent in vital world affairs than had a battle of about the same date selected from Creasey's famous list of *Decisive Battles*. A year or two ago a half finished American battleship was purposely sunk off the Virginia Capes. It had cost $15,000,000. At almost the same time a fully finished library building was dedicated in New York State. It had cost $160,400. Libraries are in the first line of defense against ignorance, a far more sinister and devastating enemy than any against which battleships are sent.

Decisive Battles	*Decisive Books*
Marathon, B.C. 490	Iliad
Syracuse, 413	Euclid's Elements
Arbelia, 331	Aristotle
Metaurus, 207	Plato
Arminius over Varnus, A.D. 9	Hebrew Scriptures
Chalops, 451	Augustine's City of God
Tours, 732	Justinian
Hastings, 1066	Chanson de Roland and
Joan of Arc, 1429	Morte d'Arthur
Spanish Armada, 1588	Divina Commedia
Blenheim, 1704	Shakespeare
Pultowa, 1709	De Imitatione Christi
Saratoga, 1777	Pilgrim's Progress
Valmy, 1792	Wealth of Nations
Waterloo, 1815	Positive Philosophy
	Origin of Species

The Negro Vote in Mississippi

Governor Bilbo recently nominated, which means elected, Governor of Mississippi for the ensuing term, stated recently to a reporter on the New York *Times*: "There are not 2,000 Negroes qualified to vote." On the other hand the United States census of 1920 declares that of 453,663 Negroes 21 years of age and over living in Mississippi 290,782 can read and write.

How They Will Spend the Five Million Marks

It will be remembered that the German Government decided to pay over to the German trade unions as compensation for their work during the occupation of the Ruhr the sum of 10 millions of marks, 5 millions of which will be allocated to the "free" trade unions. The General Council of the German Centre affiliated with the I. F. T. U. has now confirmed the proposal of the Executive of that body to spend this money in establishing a trade union college of their own. A large amount will be reserved as a fund for the provision of residential scholarships for students selected by individual unions.

A Student Venture

Wilfred Jones, a third year student at Earlham College, Earlham, Indiana, has sailed for a year of study in Japan. This is the beginning of a project to promote friendly relations between the students of the U. S. and Japan. Jones was nominated by a Japanese student committee. The students and faculty of Earlham confirmed the choice. It was estimated that $750 would be required in addition to the amount normally spent while at Earlham. The extra amount will come from the faculty and the student body.

When Students Choose

The Field Artillery Unit of the R.O.T.C. at the University of Wisconsin has been abolished by the Federal Government because the enrollment was too small to warrant the expenditure required. Only two courses in military science are now offered at Wisconsin. They are Infantry and Signal Corps. The total enrollment in the two is about 690 out of a school of 9,000. The enrollment is about one-third of what it was when the courses were compulsory. And now, of course, registration in the University has increased.

Earn While You Learn

The one-third of the Yale student body which is either wholly or partially self-supporting reported earnings for the past year totaling $593,679.67. With scholarships, long-term tuition loans and short-term emergency loans, a total of $998,112 was reported, of which approximately 80 per cent was due to university aid, either in securing positions or through scholarships or loans. Of the total earnings, $350,856.17 were due to work during the college year, and $242,823.50 to summer work.

Why Missions?

SHERWOOD EDDY

THE new generation like the new world has seized upon the idea of "self determination" with a vengeance. It takes nothing for granted. It demands the right to live its own life, formulate its own beliefs, determine its own objectives.

And why not? Would the older generation ever have undertaken its great crusade for "The evangelization of the world in this generation" if it had been imposed upon them from without by their elders? That motto represented the genius of that generation. But nothing could more clearly reveal the change which has passed over the world.

In earlier days, for the most part, we held fervidly a personal gospel for ourselves and the world that was to save souls. Then we felt a divine call to go from our own favored "Christian" nation to the backward "heathen" nations lost in darkness. Then, under the obligation of *noblesse oblige,* we felt called to take up "the white man's burden" and go out from our "superior" race to the backward peoples of the world. We had wealth, power, success, civilization—we felt that we had almost everything to give and nothing to learn. We were often unconsciously complacent, paternalistic, imperialistic. Our "meek" white race that was to inherit the earth out of 53 million square miles of the habitable globe already held 47 million or nearly eight-ninths of the globe, and that of the best; while we had left one-thirteenth of the globe to the prolific yellow race, and one-thirtieth of the continent of Africa to be governed by themselves. Today in many cities in South Africa the Negro is not allowed to buy land or to walk upon the sidewalks in his own continent, but is herded with the cattle in the street, while in America we deny him the vote in many states and segregate him in our cities.

Then, in the unchallenged certainty of a "faith once for all delivered to the saints," i.e., to *us* and our Nordic forebears, many of us went out with the claims of a static, dogmatic theology to attack and overthrow the nonchristian religions, which some even said were of the devil, and to supplant them by our western Christianity.

In the student missionary meetings of a generation ago a watch was sometimes impressively held to count by seconds the number of souls passing into a "Christian eternity," like a precipitous cataract into a bottomless abyss. The watchword "the evangelization of the world in this generation" implied for many an urgency and immediacy to proclaim swiftly a message before the ecclesiastical "end of the age."

IT is indeed a new day. We are in the midst of one of the vast transitional epochs of history, as great, perhaps far greater, than the Renaissance, the Reformation, or the French Revolution. Let us contrast the outlook of the older and the younger generation. Then, our major emphasis was personal, now it is social. We have not only to proclaim a message to foreign nations; we have to build a whole new social order founded upon social justice. We have to humanize, to Christianize, to permeate with the principles of Jesus' way of life all social relations and institutions. We have not only to save a few elect souls in our slums at home or in our foreign missions. We have to abolish those disgraceful slums for which we are criminally responsible and share in all things with all men as brothers of whatever nation, or race, or color, or creed, our wealth, our education, our privilege and opportunity, as well as our full spiritual heritage. We can have no superior or patronizing privilege of "charity" to poor men or nations, but must begin with repentance and the claims of social justice.

Now, we cannot face complacently nations that we once branded as "heathen," but must, deeply disturbed, confront the danger zones of our semi-pagan order at home. Now, can we in common honesty maintain the pride of a "superior" race? If we still lead the world in our record of lynching, in race and color prejudices; if to the white and especially our Anglo-Saxon nations is laid the charge of an imperialism that has conquered or exploited over half of Asia and all but one-thirtieth of Africa; if the navies of France, Great Britain, and the United States cost their tax payers not less than a billion dollars a year, and their expenditure on army, navy, and air force is about equal to all of the rest of the world combined, does our superiority lie in the pride of militarism and of brute force?

Now, we face a new world that will no longer submit to imperialism "lying down;" an increased nationalism, an awakened Orient, and the "Revolt of Asia" described by Upton Close and many observers. This awakened nationalism has been accompanied in many lands by a renaissance of Oriental culture, an intense national patriotism, a new appreciation of the values of their own religions. At the same time, in reply to our imperialism they have turned the searchlight of exposure on the evils of our western civilization. In every awakened country they are demanding an indigenous leadership on the part of their own nationals as against a foreign control of finance, of government, of industry or of missions.

Now many students no longer hold a static and dogmatic theology that must be imposed upon less favored peoples. Recognizing everywhere the dynamic and evolving process of all life, the relativity of their own conceptions of the true and the good and the beautiful, they see their heritage as a part of universal truth and leave to the unfolding future the "many things" which the past could not as yet bear but toward which they press on with living minds, as candidates for truth.

IS it then presumptuous for semi-pagan or unchristian America to send missionaries to other lands? Whether we go or not there must be the frank recognition of our own desperate need. We acknowledge the deep-seated evils of our social order. There is the unjust distribution of wealth and income, congested fortunes of vast wealth unshared side by side with poverty unrelieved; flagrant luxury and waste confronted by unemployment, poverty and want; costly homes and resorts for the rich, and reeking slums and disgraceful housing conditions for the poor. Our present order results in a world of strife. There is strife between conflicting classes in industry; between competing races, white and black, yellow and brown; between contending nations, each one of which is a law unto itself in an international anarchy leading periodically to overt war. The forty wars of the past century have been the almost inevitable result of the economic and political maladjustments of our social order. Facing this social order whose injustice cries to heaven, are we to accept it supinely in nerveless irresponsibility and cowardly subjection, or are we to challenge it, to grapple with its problems and to do all that is in our power to solve them?

Could we not, with an audacity equal to the older generation that dared to attempt the evangelization of a world, have the courage and faith to dare to build a new social order not merely to evangelize but in time to Christianize the whole of life in all its relations, whether economic, racial or international?

We have the knowledge and experience of Jesus Christ. He lays upon us no bondage of rule or ritual. Rather he translates law into love and legal bondage into liberty. If we catch his spirit and attitude, his approach to the problems of life, we can progressively apply his dynamic and expansive principles to our ever advancing life. Jesus' method of approach to the problem of God and of man is grounded in respect for personality, in ethical love. He cuts away a labyrinthine forest of non-essentials and gathers, centers and simplifies religion for all time in the single universal essential of righteous love. Professor Coe points out his scientific approach to all facts, his loving approach to all persons. After historical criticism has exhausted itself, are we not left with a vital core of reality, a central certainty of experience, a Christian positivism, which is a unique and priceless heritage that we must offer to share with all men, leaving them free to interpret and apply it as they will.

He has taught us a new estimate of man's worth and possibilities. Through him more than any other, men discovered the incalculable value of the individual and the possible brotherhood of all. He could say, "Blessed are ye poor; of such as these men can build a Kingdom of love." His faith in the spiritual nature, the infinite value and the boundless possibilities of human personality implied the spiritual equality and democratic right of opportunity of all men. Benjamin Kidd maintains that "around this doctrine every phase of the progressive political movements in our civilization has centered for the last two centuries."

THE terrific responsibility of America implies the necessity of sharing if she is to save herself from sordid materialism. Possessing some $400,000,000,000, or one-third of all the wealth of the world, and nearly half its gold supply, having passed through the war from a debtor to a creditor nation, with the world owing us some twenty-five billion dollars in foreign debts and investments, so that they must pay us a million dollars a day on our debts and a billion dollars a year on our investments, the responsibility of a land that once held "the moral leadership of the world" is as great as our wealth and power.

Are we to become like Babylon or Rome sordid with materialism, or to save ourselves and others as we share with the world? Meanwhile we defeat legislation designed to abolish child labor or rebuild our slums at home, and say "we do not believe in foreign missions" abroad. Are we to become the Dives among the nations, the Shylock who demands his full pound of flesh from others, or the Good Samaritan of a needy world? Whatever may be the want of the world, do we not need missions to save our own souls?

The present need of the world can only be met by the sharing of knowledge and privilege implied in missions. We are here speaking not of imposing a doctrine, which no man has a right to do, but of sharing a life.

The need of Africa today stands stark before us. Witness the brilliant Albert Schweitzer, the young philosopher, theologian and musician of Germany, a versatile Leonardo of our modern Renaissance and one of the outstanding men of this generation, mastering modern medicine to go out to share his life in the heart of darkest Africa. Writing, "On the Edge of the Primeval Forest," sent by "the fellowship of those who bear the mark of pain," he says, "Physical misery is great everywhere out here . . . millions and millions live without help or hope. . . . . Doctors should go forth to carry out among the miserable in far-off lands all that ought to be done in the name of civiliza-

tion human and humane. Sooner or later this idea (of missions) will conquer the world, for with inexorable logic it carries with it the intellect as well as the heart."

Katherine Mayo describes her view of the need of "Mother India." Probably most Indians and missionaries would agree that while nine-tenths of the book was factual, its total impression is false. Such a book could be written of the dark side of America or any other country. But however poisonous and pernicious the book may be, there remains a desperate need and a darker side of life in India as in every land.

The writer studied factory conditions in China where he found little boys working more than sixteen hours a day, seven days a week, receiving during the first three years of their apprenticeship nothing but their food, which cost the company but six cents a day. It is not a question of whether these factories are Chinese or foreign, it is not a question of praise or blame. The need is there and must be met. While the Orient is passing from the stage of simple handicrafts into the terrible industrial revolution, are we to let it drag its weary way through selfish capitalism, imperialism and militarism and repeat all the mistakes of the West? Can we not share with them the dearly bought experience gained in the West and lift the level of life not only for millions in the Orient but for world labor whose standards will be menaced by the nations industrially backward? It is not a question of leaving peoples alone in a simple and happy life, but of relieving present need and actual misery.

WE should go in a spirit that is teachable, ready to be taught the much that they have to teach and that we need to learn. We should welcome every value in the religion and culture of the people to whom we go. As Spengler points out, a nation's culture is the soul of a people. We go not to destroy a single value that is there but by sharing to fulfil. How eagerly we should welcome great messengers from the Orient like Sadhu Sundar Singh, Mahatma Gandhi and Tagore of India, T. Z. Koo of China or Kagawa of Japan!

We should go eagerly welcoming and immediately seeking to develop an indigenous leadership under the nationals of each land. We go, seeking not to *be* leaders but humbly to help to *develop* them. Our aggressive Western imperialism often stands in the way of Christ's spirit and message, which is more native to the Orient than the warring Occident. As the poet Tagore says, "When missionaries bring their truth to a strange land, unless they bring it in the form of homage it is not accepted and should not be. The manner of offering it to you should not be at all discordant with your own national thought and your self-respect."

We go humbly to present Jesus and his way of life and the heart of our message, not a cast-iron system of theological Christianty, denominational sectarianism, competitive proselytism, or Western civilization entangled with an imperialism, capitalism and militarism which are looked upon with loathing by an awakened Orient. We go, all too mindful of the evils in our civilization and in the history of the Church past and present. We do not go out with a proselytizing zeal to compass sea and land merely to add further converts to our hundred and eighty existing sects, nor to carry abroad our internal dissentions between an "arid liberalism and an acrid fundamentalism."

Jesus' way of life offers a pure, unselfish ministry of service to all men. It seeks to lift human personality into its rightful precedence, to oppose sweated labor, race prejudice, war and ruthless exploitation wherever they are found in every land. It seeks to heal broken bodies, dwarfed minds and wounded spirits regardless of creed.

But on the other hand, we go not only to perform this humanitarian work regardless of results and as a worthy end in itself, but frankly to gather groups to share a new religious experience and to found churches which will, under their own leadership, extend this way of life and share this releasing experience among their own people.

Going then in a spirit of love, teachable and ready to learn, seeking indigenous leadership and presenting Jesus as our message, we should carry a message that is fearless, positive and constructive. The message that is needed today is rational, social, personal and vital. It must be rational, purged from all archaic or medieval superstition. It must pertain to the twentieth century in which we are living. It must be social and able to grapple with the ghastly wrongs and crying evils under which the exploited masses now are living. But much more it must be personal and vital. We must not lose the redemptive, the religious, the spiritual note. It should be a message from a life ringing and radiating with triumph. Here and now we must find God for ourselves before we can share our experience with others.

A Challenge

From an Interview with Rabindranath Tagore in Bucharest, in the *New York Times,* Nov. 22, 1926.

"I had hoped that the United States would develop pacifism, but the country is too aggressively anti-Asiatic and selfish."

Oriental vs. Occidental Strategy of Life

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

THE foundation for the Western strategy of life was laid by the Greeks who, overcoming the awe and reverence with which the Oriental brooded over nature's mysteries, thrust impious hands into her secrets and made shrewd guesses about her varied phenomena. The Greeks learned to make only slight practical application of their knowledge, and the rise of Christianity eclipsed their scientific temper. It came into its own again at the close of the Middle Ages and at the dawn of the modern era. The fact that science developed in the West rather than the East is due to this attitude toward the natural world. The Orient is not less curious than the Occident, but it directs its mind to other problems. While it cradles philosophies and religions the West gives birth to science.

Since the dawn of the industrial era scientific knowledge is used increasingly for the purpose of transforming the natural circumstances of human life. Nature is not transcended but transformed in the interest of human happiness. Comforts are multiplied; power is increased; time and distance are destroyed; hours of toil are reduced; natural environment is changed; disease is eliminated and death postponed; the hostilities of nature are overcome and her benevolence multiplied for the sake of human welfare. Our birth may be "but a sleep and a forgetting" but our life is undeniably lived in natural conditions which profoundly effect not only physical well-being but cultural and spiritual character. It is evident therefore that there is profound wisdom in the scientific strategy which transforms the natural world in the interest of the human spirit. Not only is the Western world firmly committed to it, but there are indications that the Orient will adopt it in spite of the opposition of religious leaders such as Gandhi. Whatever perils to the spiritual life may lurk in the preoccupation of the soul with its physical circumstances, it is clear that human personality may be served by improving the natural environment which conditions it. Wealth may lead to sensual excess but it is also the basis of culture. Leisure may be secured by reducing physical wants to a minimum, but there are cultural advantages in a leisure which does not preclude the satisfaction of all reasonable desires. Comforts may lead man to become obsessed with their external circumstances, but they also reduce irrelevant distractions to life's main purpose. Physical health is not a necessary but a convenient condition for moral and spiritual enterprise.

IN spite of these advantages religion, except in a few contemporary forms, has always been either hostile or indifferent to the business of transforming nature in the interest of personal values. It has counseled the soul to seek its happiness not in changing but in becoming independent of circumstances. In Buddhism the highest happiness is sought by throttling all desires. Jesus was more careful to distinguish between the will to live and its physical expressions. But he was critical of all physical desires and satisfactions. He had the Orient's profound indifference to the "business of the earth." If our ears were not so habituated to his words that they fail to catch their real significance, a modern congregation would be shocked by the admonition: "Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on. Is not life more than meat and the body more than raiment?" "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth where moth and rust doth corrupt and where thieves break through and steal, for where your treasure is, there will your heart be also." "Fear not them which kill the body but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell." The modern Christian is inclined to destroy the force of the profound other-worldliness of such sentiments by reflecting that they represent an Oriental caste which is incidental and not essential to the gospel of Jesus. They are Oriental no doubt, but precisely because they are religious; and to regard them as incidental is to miss the whole meaning of the Gospel. Though the West is unable to accept them, it pays an unconscious tribute to the truth involved in them. For the absolute values incarnated in the personality of Jesus, which the West still reveres, are organically related to this other-worldliness.

Whatever the limitations of this emphasis, it is evident that religion cannot escape it. Concerned with the soul's inner peace and perfect virtue it is forced to live it above the corruptions and irrelevancies of temporal conditions. The whole course of modern history is ample justification for Jesus' warning: Where your treasure is, there will your heart be also. The instruments of personality's victory over nature have become the chains for a new kind of thraldom. Western civilization is enslaved to its machines and the things which the machines produce. Spiritual forces are emancipated from the forces of nature only to become the victims of a mechanized civilization. It is a Pyrrhic victory. America, which has developed the

This article is a part of Mr. Niebuhr's new book *Does Civilization Need Religion?* published by Macmillan.

Western strategy with greater consistency than any other nation, is at once the envy and the scorn of the world. The scorn may be a device for hiding the envy, but there is moral justification for reproach. What the world regards as our vulgarity is more than the awkwardness of youth; it is an undue preoccupation with life's instrumentality and an obsession of the soul with the concrete world.

The Orient may be more cruel than the West, but our superior tenderness is matched by our more expansive avarice. Having determined that life consists in things a man possesses, the West sacrifices both inner peace and social harmony in the mad scramble for the power and privilege which the conquest of nature has supplied. Neither the imperialism of nations nor the monstrous avarice of economic groups is confined to Western life, but covetousness and greed have been manifestly increased by the temper and strategy of the Occident. The Biblical analysis which discovers covetousness as the root of conflict is applicable to our own day: "Ye lust and have not; ye kill and desire to have, and cannot obtain; ye fight and war, yet ye have not because ye ask amiss—Know ye not that the friendship of this world is enmity with God?"[1] However necessary it may be to make a more equitable distribution of the physical blessings of life, religion's true function is to develop an attitude of indifference toward the very goods for the possession of which men contend so frantically. When Jesus rebuked the young man who desired his aid in correcting the inequitable division of an inheritance, his unwillingness to assume a judicial function was manifestly dictated by the thought that the whole inheritance ought to have been a matter of indifference to the young man. It is easy to see that such an attitude may lend itself to abuse and be used to perpetuate inequalities. If advocated by religious groups which have profited by economic inequalities, it becomes the tool of hypocrisy. Yet it is an emphasis which religion cannot disavow. It is basic to its whole world view.

SOME credit for the advantages of Western life must be given to the moral superiority of Christianity over Buddhism, which represents the quintessence of the Oriental spirit. Christianity is a life-affirming and Buddhism a life-denying faith. The one does not destroy but refines the energy of life. The other destroys energy in the process of refinement. The Orient is pantheistic; and by deifying all of life, offers no avenue of escape from its imperfections except by annihilation of life itself. There is a difference between fleeing to God from life's unbearable realities and identifying these with the divine will. At its worst the strategy of the Orient is a fatalistic acceptance of life's circumstances; at its best it is a stifling of all desires so that the soul may be free of the world. Yet there is a social peril even in the more wholesome strategy of Christianity which affirms life but divorces it from its physical necessities. This limitation is felt particularly when the conditions which invite change are social rather than natural. Nature is inexorable and it is well to learn that only they are able to escape her furies who also know how to renounce her delights. But the world which man has created retains its cruelties only by the sufferance of man. Anything which will incline men to assume an attitude of indifference toward projects of social reform and amelioration is therefore a potential peril to social progress. When Jesus rebuked the young man for his anxiety about an equitable division of his inheritance, he took a high spiritual ground which easily lends itself to abuse in the disillusioning realities of economic and social life. What if a sublime renunciation does not soften the hearts of those who hold more than their just share of the inheritance? And what if the welfare of others besides that of moral idealists is involved in the renunciation? Shall the Biblical injunction to servants that they be obedient to their masters "not only to the good and gentle but also to the forward" apply to political tyrannies? Obviously an attitude which represents a high spiritual achievement in the individual instance has its limitations when raised to a general social policy. Social radicals who have been confronted with the conservatism of religion have parodied the other-worldly temper at the heart of this characteristic in the words: "By and bye, there'll be pie in the sky." The sneer in this parody hardly does justice to religious other-worldliness. The emphasis is not so much upon a future life as distinguished from the present existence as upon a type of life which can afford to regard "pie" with disdain whether in this or any other world. Nevertheless, even the highest type of other-worldliness may become the cause of indifference to social conditions. The very sensitiveness of religion which persuades it to regard human society in the same category with the world of nature as "the world" may result in the completer secularization of society and its abandonment to the unchecked forces of nature.

While the Western World has much to learn from the East in its strategy of life, there is no gain in substituting one strategy for the other; for they are both defective. The plight of the West is due to the complete bankruptcy of religious forces and the unchallenged dominion of science; just as the plight of the East is due to the unchallenged sway of religion. Applied science has created a civilization which may be as destructive of personality for the meagerly endowed multitudes as the natural poverty of Asia. But Western civilization may at least boast of developing a middle class which enjoys physical

[1] James IV: 2-4.

and spiritual advantages which no considerable class of the Orient possesses. Neither the West nor the East has arrived at a perfect basis for happiness. The Oriental soul is like a bird, freed of its cage, but with no wings to fly. The Occidental soul has wings but is so fascinated by its gilded cage that it does not care to fly.

THE conclusion which emerges from such reflections will shock orthodox religionists. It is that the values of religion are conditioned and not absolute and that they attain their highest usefulness not when they subdue all other values but when they are in perpetual conflict with them, or it may be truer to say when they are coördinated with them. Western life gained an advantage over the East by centuries of conflict between the religious and scientific strategy of life. It is losing the advantage by an excessive devotion to concrete interests and by the capitulation of religion. The supreme tragedy of history would be the not improbable armed conflict between West and East, with the Orient in a frenzy of resentment against the greed of the Occident and the Occident in a natural fear of the low-living standards of Asia. Part of the truth would be on either side and the conflict could result only in exaggerating the limitations of the partial truth which each side holds.

Meanwhile there is the possibility of coördinating the values of East and West, of science and religion. Let the East learn to live in time and the West to view its temporalities with indifference. The coördination is not easy because men are not inclined to be at once critical and appreciative of the values with which they must deal. They always tend to increase the limitations of certain values by an uncritical devotion or to destroy the values in mad resentment against their limitations. Since man is a citizen of two worlds, he cannot afford to renounce his citizenship in either. He must work out his destiny both as a child of nature and as a servant of the absolute.

THE prospects for an exchange of values between the East and the West are not particularly bright. The Orient is indeed being "Americanized," but partly through the policy of Western imperialism exploiting the low living standards of Asia to the advantages of Western industry. There is no powerful movement in the West to dissuade it from its complete trust in physical power as the method of self-realization, and in physical comfort as the way to happiness. Modern religion has not been totally ineffective in qualifying racial arrogance and parochial prejudices. But it has had practically no effect upon the instincts of avarice which dominate Western life. The religious groups which are still ambitious to defy civilization in the name of their faith have a theology which cannot gain the respect of the thoughtful leaders of modern life; and the sins of which they convict modern society are not its real sins. The intellectually emancipated religious groups are too thoroughly acclimatized to the atmosphere of Western life to have any sensitiveness for its imperfections.

The greatest hope lies in the missionary enterprise, which through its very effort toward the universalization of the Christian faith has a tendency to strip it of its Occidental accretions, so that it may become intrinsically worthy of its world expansion. The missionary enterprise may thereby contribute as much toward the spiritualization of Western life as toward the regeneration of the East. Its very contact with the East gives it a perspective on the limitations of Western life which churches at home do not possess. There is, of course, the possibility that Western imperialism will so thoroughly discredit the missionary enterprise before it can function in this way that it will lose its whole prestige in the Eastern world. In that case Japan will probably continue to unify and occidentalize Asia in the hope of fighting fire with fire. A small minority of thoughtful missionaries are making a desperate effort to disassociate the missionary enterprise from the politics of Western imperialism in the Orient. Considering the difficulty of their task, they have made commendable progress. Yet if Christianity at home does not become disassociated from and does not qualify the greed of which the Oriental politics of Western nations is but an expression, the heroic efforts of the missionaries may be in vain. Men of prudence in the Orient may be willing to concede that ideals have validity even if they are outraged by those who ostensibly accept them. But the final test of ideals must include their ability to qualify human action. If Christian idealism is to be a force which will help to create a unified world culture, capable of destroying the moral limitations of both the Oriental and the Occidental strategy of life, it must detach itself more completely from the temper of Western life even while it seeks to influence the thought of the East.

If Life Is A Tree

IF Life is a tree
Joy is its leaf.
Leaves bud; leaves grow; leaves fall. . . .

If Life is a tree
Its roots are sorrows. . . .

Long after the leaves are fallen,
Long after the boughs are bare,
The roots cling fast,
Deep in the Earth-Mother's bosom.

KWEI CHEN.

An Appreciation of Non-Christian Faiths

KENNETH S. LATOURETTE

WHAT should be the Christian attitude toward non-Christian faiths? At times those bearing the name of Christian have declared that all outside the fold of the church were on the highroad to perdition. In the eighteen fifties, for example, the missionary magazine of one of our largest denominations carried an article with the caption, "The Heathen Justly Condemned." Not many decades have passed since the oldest foreign mission board in the United States was threatened with disruption over the appointment of some missionaries who declined to affirm that all "heathen" who had not heard of Christ are eternally lost. Such liberalism, conservatives declared, was unscriptural and would destroy the motive for missions. Today missionaries and their supporters are still to be found who are convinced that those who have not known and accepted the Christian Gospel are doomed. To all who are trying to be Christians and hold to that belief the path of duty is unmistakable: they must bend every energy to tell as many people as possible the saving message.

On the other hand, with an increasing knowledge of the religions of the world many professing Christians are wondering whether, after all, their faith is superior to that of others—whether, in the last analysis, one religion is not about as good as another. Many who take this position have never gone to the trouble to examine carefully either Christianity or any other faith. Some, however, among them high-minded and extremely intelligent souls, have sought earnestly and painstakingly to compare religions and have come to the conclusion that we are all seekers, that each perceives some of the facets of truth which the others do not see, and that ultimate truth will be attained by each contributing to the other and all joining in the common search. Missions, from this standpoint, should be an exchange, missionaries going from "non-Christian" to "Christian" lands as well as from "Christian" to "non-Christian" countries.

To examine carefully these two contentions would involve a much longer article than either editors or readers would tolerate. May I, however, at the risk of seeming superficial and somewhat egotistical and dogmatic, summarize my own position?

FIRST of all, I realize that I am biased. I was reared in the Christian faith, I am trying to be Christian, I have been a Christian missionary and today am a professor of Christian missions. When I judge other faiths, my standards, try as I will to make them absolute and to be impartial and honest, are colored by my background. I tend to approve those features in non-Christian religions which I believe them to have in common with Christianity at its best—as I see it in Christ—and to disapprove of those in which they differ.

In the second place, after trying to make all due allowances for this bias, I believe that I discover in other faiths many of the features which seem to me most valuable in the one which has brought to me the secret of life. Animism, declared by students of religion to be far down on the scale of faiths, has at least this much in common with Christianity: it contends that the universe is alive, that pulsing through it and controlling it are spirit or spirits. It is convinced that human life goes on after what we call death. Animism attempts to enforce, too, certain standards of conduct, although these are frequently so different from Christian standards that they often seem to us non-ethical and even immoral.

In Shinto, the national cult which Japan inherits from its primitive past, this reality of the spirit world is emphasized and with it reverence for the nation's great dead and loyalty to the group.

What we of the West call Confucianism—that system in which is caught up so much of China's philosophical and spiritual heritage—inculcates what the Christian gladly agrees are high ethical standards—loyalty, sincerity, unselfish service, including the principle: "What you would not that others do to you, do not to them." Confucianism emphasizes the welfare of the body politic, and seeks to achieve an ideal society whose basis is righteousness. Confucianism has been the strength of hundreds of lives which by Christian standards were pure, high-minded, noble, "superior." To Confucius, at the heart of the Universe and governing it, is One whom man can trust, and to Chu Hsi, the great exponent of orthodox Confucianism, the ultimate forces in the Universe find expression in man's highest virtues, particularly love. With Chinese thinkers who are somewhat aside from the main current of philosophical development, but who influenced it profoundly, I, as a Christian also find spiritual kinship—Mo Ti in his belief in a God of love, his conviction that love is the basis of human conduct, and his denunciation of war, and with the early Taoists in their distrust of force, of pride, and of wealth, and with later Taoists with their belief in the possibility of immortality.

With the Buddhist I feel that the Christian has much in common. Judged by Christian standards as

well as his own the historic Buddha was noble, unselfish, devoted. After great anguish he had found the secret of inward peace and spent a long life in trying to impart it to others. Buddhism inculcates reverence for all life and a love of the beautiful. Buddhism teaches meditation—so appealing to many of us from the hurried West. Mahayana Buddhism makes one of its fundamentals vicarious suffering—the righteous for the evil, that the evil may be saved—impelled by a love which will not rest content until all sentient beings are released from the bondage of torturing desire and have found inward peace. In some schools of Mahayana Buddhism, moreover, the Protestant finds emphasized that salvation by faith which he has believed to be the peculiar contribution of a Paul or a Luther.

In Hinduism at its highest I find much which inspires and rebukes me—philosophies which for centuries have taught the existence of God and have declared that man's highest joy lies in union with God. I find, more than in most conventional Christian groups, a passionate devotion to the life of the spirit, and a mystical experience which goes far beyond what is known to all but a minority of Christians. One of the great Christian mystics of our own day, indeed, in recent travels in India is said to have had as his constant companion one of the best known Indian manuals on mysticism. Even the casual Christian knows of Gandhi and Tagore.

In that scanty remnant, the Parsees, are the representatives of an ancient faith which insists that man must range himself on the side of good in the war between good and evil, and which, in one of its offshoots, Mithraism, was so strangely like early Christianity that some scholars have declared that the sacraments of the Church were influenced by it.

In Islam, long considered an implacable enemy of Christianity, the fair-minded Christian finds much to admire. He sees Christ honored and the Jewish prophets reverenced. He discovers a belief in God, perfect in righteousness, all powerful, all knowing. He learns that Moslem ethics marked a great advance over the moral standards of the Arabia of Mohammed's childhood. He finds schools of mysticism deeply indebted, as is Christian mysticism, to Neo-Platonism. He sees even in the everyday practicing Moslem a regularity and unashamedness in prayer which rebuke his own lack of attention to the things of the spirit.

THE Christian, if he be fair, can never forget that to Judaism he owes his own faith, that he regards the Jewish scriptures as his own—even though he has added the New Testament to them, and that Jesus himself and the early apostles were Jews. The Christian, too, if he has taken pains to do so, discovers that Jewish spiritual life did not cease with the closing of the Old Testament Canon or the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus.

The Christian, if he is true to what he calls the Golden Rule, rejoices in all of these similarities to his own faith. He believes that in no land has God been without a witness, that among all peoples God has been striving to speak to men and that outside the Christian Church and even without contact with historic Christianity, many have found joy, peace, self-control and those other qualities which Paul declares to be the fruits of the spirit of God. He remembers that the great unknown author of the Fourth Gospel declared that the Eternal Word through which God touches and redeems men "Lighteth every man as he cometh into the world."

I, FOR one, however, would be untrue to what I believe to be the facts did I not go beyond this. So far as I can see—and I know that in this agree a number of scholars and observers much wiser and better informed than I—none of the non-Christian faiths, even when taken at its best, has anything good to offer which Christianity, at its best, does not possess, and often Christianity displays these excellencies much more fully and richly. These witnesses, I realize, are biased by a Christian background and judge by Christian standards, but their conclusions must not be entirely ruled out of court because of that. Take for example, salvation by vicarious suffering. It is to be found in more than one other religion—in schools of Buddhism and of Islam, for instance. Yet in Buddhism the savior sufferers in contrast with the historic Jesus are at best legendary and are usually mythical, and in Islam the chief sufferer does not compare with Jesus for beauty of character.

Moreover, he would be untrue to facts who did not recognize the dark side of religions. Here, of course, it is neither fair nor accurate merely to compare the worst features of non-Christian faiths with the best of Christianity. Nor can the Christian be blind to the lapses of what has gone by the name of Christianity—the immoralities in high ecclesiastical circles in the Dark and Middle Ages and in the Renaissance, the intolerance, the religious persecutions—both by Catholics and Protestants—the alliances of the Church with the powers of oppression, the un-Christian divisions in Christendom and the shame of the squabbles and sordidness even in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Nor need he go to other lands or ages to see faults. He remembers that it is not so many years since churches in the United States were blessing war, he recalls the smugness, the worldliness, the complacent acquiescence of many who call themselves Christian in existing race prejudices and industrial injustices. He recalls the lack of meditation and true prayer and the highly organized business in many of our churches,

and he can but wince when he remembers the shoddiness and vulgarity of some of our "services" and "revival meetings." Moreover, as he looks into his own heart, the Christian is keenly conscious of his own failures to "live worthily of the calling wherewith he is called."

WHILE all of this is true, I do not find anywhere in Christianity as rank superstition as that sanctioned and fostered by animism. There is inherent in the Christian Gospel a protest against narrow nationalism which is the reverse of what I discover in Shinto. Confucianism has always been poverty stricken on the mystical side and on any word concerning immortality it has for centuries been tending toward agnosticism and one prominent Chinese scholar, himself an agnostic, declares that his nation, more quickly than any other, outgrew religion. Buddhism, in its beginning, was for all practical purposes atheistic, and can never quite free itself from that heritage. It holds up, too, as ideal the life of the celibate which, if all followed it, would bring the race to an end in a generation. Through Buddhism runs a basic strain of pessimism, of desire to be rid of existence. Christianity while by no means blind to evil, faces evil with the cross and the resurrection, and claims that Jesus came that men might have life and might have it more abundantly. Jesus, too, taught his disciples to pray for the coming of an ideal human society—where God's will would be done. I cannot, moreover, forget that Hinduism is almost inseparably intertwined with caste—in its worst features more degrading than slavery or all our race prejudices. I cannot forget the immoralities of certain Hindu mystical cults, or the prostitution in some Hindu temples—abuses which at its worst Christianity has never displayed. Nor can I forget that the finest present-day flowers of Hinduism, Gandhi and Tagore, are deeply indebted to Jesus. Mohammed with all his sterling characteristics, seems to me a far inferior figure to Jesus. He was a man of war, for example, and a polygamist. It is hard for a religion to rise above its avowed founder and ideal.

While I as a Christian, then, have much that I can learn from the followers of other faiths, that is because of my own short-comings. I do not find in these faiths anything of value which I do not find in what seems to me to be Christianity at its best. Nor do I find in Christianity at its worst as bad conditions as I do in each of the great non-Christian faiths at their worst. Moreover, I do find in Christianity at its best, features of great value which I do not find in the non-Christian faiths at their best and a further development of the features of the non-Christian faiths which seem to me to constitute their excellences.

The Future of Christian Missions

J. H. OLDHAM

THE future of Christian Missions depends in the last resort on the strength of our conviction of value of the Christian revelation. The Christian missionary movement is not primarily a humanitarian or philanthropic movement. The essential idea, which distinguishes it from other activities is not that of service, although in so far as it is true to its own characteristic genius it will express itself in an increasing variety of ways and with increasing determination in the service of men. Its distinctive mark as a missionary movement is that it exists to make known a Gospel. Uncertainty about the Gospel cuts the nerve of missionary endeavour.

This does not mean that we are tied to the formulations of the Gospel that have been made in the past. Each age has to learn to see Christ with its own eyes and to interpret him in the light of its own knowledge and experience of life. But it does mean that the missionary movement rests on certain events external to ourselves. It is not a matter of propagating our ideals. There is no particular reason why our ideals should be very much superior to those of other peoples. Christianity has always claimed to rest on something that *happened*. It has always been an assertion not of something that men thought, or dreamed of, or strove after but of something that God did.

Christianity claims to be an answer to the riddle of the universe. It offers an explanation of the meaning of life. It rests on the belief that in the person and teaching of Jesus Christ the inner meaning of ultimate Reality is disclosed to us. It is an assertion that at the heart of things there is a Love that we can absolutely trust, that will never fail or betray us; and that the reason why we can dare to believe something so wonderful and surprising is that Jesus Christ has shown it to us.

It is of course quite impossible to express in a sentence or two anything so rich and inexhaustible as the Gospel. The only reason for referring to it here at all is to bring out the fact that the missionary movement stands or falls with the question whether in the

life and death of Jesus Christ we learn something about the ultimate nature of things, about God and His purpose for the world, that far transcends anything that human insight and wisdom have been able to apprehend apart from Him. If the answer to that question is in the affirmative, then it becomes our duty to leave none of our fellow-men in ignorance of what so richly illuminates the meaning of life and gives to struggling and suffering men and women such grounds for confidence, peace, courage and hope.

THAT the future of Christian missions depends more than on anything else on a conviction of the truth and value of the Christian message is recognized by those responsible for the guidance of the Christian missionary movement. This recognition has determined the emphasis in the programme for the forthcoming meeting of the International Missionary Council to be held at Jerusalem next March. The subject was deemed so central and vital that it was decided to undertake a fresh study of it. It is proposed to examine with open minds those systems of life and thought other than Christianity which are exercising a widespread influence to-day over the thoughts and lives of men throughout the world, and to enquire what are the things which the adherents of these other faiths have gained from them. What light have they found on the mystery of existence and on the problems of life? What support have they found to strengthen them in the battles of life and to help them to meet its tests? It is proposed to recognize these values frankly, and generously, and then, over against this background, to ask what the Christian revelation has to offer that can deepen, enrich and supplement these insights, and what it has to give that other systems do not possess. It is recognized that in the world to-day the Christian missionary movement has to lay its account not only with non-Christian religious systems, but also, especially so far as the educated classes in the Far East are concerned, with the outlook arising from the scientific attitude towards life, which is widespread in the West and which can perhaps best be described by the term secular civilization.

GRANTED the fundamental assumption that the rising generation have the same invincible faith in the supreme worth and saving power of the Christian revelation that their fathers had—however different may be the form in which this faith finds expression—the future of Christian missions seems to me to depend chiefly on four things, all of which find a place in the programme of the meeting of the International Missionary Council at Jerusalem.

In the first place, the missionary movement, if it is to succeed in its task to-day, must come to closer quarters than it has yet done with the scientific attitude towards life. Modern science has put an end to the isolation of peoples. Its inventions have cemented the world into a single unit. But serious thought is realizing increasingly that the growing unity and complexity of the world are creating for us moral problems of the first magnitude. Though the different peoples have been brought physically nearer to one another there is a danger that they may become spiritually more estranged. While man has acquired an astonishing control over the forces of nature, it is uncertain whether that power is going to be used for the advancement of mankind or for its destruction. The antagonisms in the industrial and international fields remind us how urgent is the need for an increase in the ability of man to direct his own actions and the course of human society.

The dazzling successes of scientific methods in the physical sphere are leading men to ask whether these same methods cannot help also in the psychological and social spheres. The methods of patient observation and of the slow piecing together of knowledge gathered by many thousands of scattered workers which have wrought such triumphs in the physical sciences are now being applied to the study of man himself and of human society. The results of the application of the scientific method in the psychological and social field may in the end prove as momentous—for good or for evil—as they have been in the field of the physical sciences. Perhaps the most significant fact in the whole of modern life is the growing attempt by man through the patient methods of science to take control over his own destiny.

The steady accumulating knowledge and understanding of human nature are through national systems of education being brought to bear to influence the ideas, outlook and attitudes of the rising generation. These national systems of education, comparatively recent even in the West, are now being rapidly extended throughout Asia and Africa. They are agencies of incalculable power and that power will steadily increase as science slowly adds to our understanding of the process of learning and of the means by which the development of human nature can be influenced most effectively. If Christian missions are to succeed in the world today they must lay their account with these new powerful influences. If the national systems of education should be hostile to Christian beliefs and ideals, Christianity would be confronted with obstacles greater even than those presented by the inertia of ancient and deep rooted customs and traditions. It is not necessary, however, that the influence of national systems of education should be hostile. The ideals of many of the best educators today reveal a remarkable affinity with fundamental Christian conceptions; they are, in fact, to a large ex-

tent Christian ideas. It may well be, moreover, that, just as the scientific discoveries of the last century, by providing new means of communication and opening up new territories, made the Christian world mission possible, so the new knowledge of which we have been speaking may make it possible through a deeper and truer understanding of human capacity and need to commend the Gospel more effectively and persuasively than in the past. In any case, in a world that is increasingly being brought under the influence of the new knowledge, Christian missions, in order to do their work effectively, must keep in touch with that knowledge and make the fullest possible use of it.

While the Christian purpose can be effectively realized only by keeping in close touch with the world of reality as science helps us to understand it, that does not mean that science, as some people imagine, can tell us what our aims should be. No amount of study of what *is* will shed light on what *ought to be*. The *meaning* of life is something that we must learn from some other source than science, which is concerned primarily with things that are capable of being measured. The deepest insight into what life means comes for those who are Christians from the teaching and person of Jesus Christ.

This whole subject is dealt with much more fully than is possible within the limits of this brief article in the Report on Religious Educaton which is being submitted to the meeting at Jerusalem.

THE second thing that is necessary, if Christian missions are to do their work in the world today, is that they must come to closer quarters not only with the scientific attitude to life but also with the great forces that are at work in the transformation of human society, such as the industrial changes which are rapidly proceeding in non-Christian countries, the efforts to improve rural conditions and the problems created by closer contacts between races. Reports dealing with all these subjects are being presented to the meeting at Jerusalem. The subjects are far too big for treatment in this article and there is room for only a single comment.

The study of both industrial and inter-racial problems makes it plain that in any given industrial or inter-racial situation there are two quite different kinds of factors to be taken into account, and that mastery of the situation becomes possible only when both have been dealt with. First, there are certain human attitudes and dispositions involved, which can be changed through conversion or education. It is the task of Christianity to try to create the right attitude of sympathy, understanding and good-will, and this is a task which needs to be taken in hand in the world today with even greater earnestness and determination than ever before. But even where a large measure of good-will exists we have not yet obtained control of the situation. There are involved in it factors of another and quite different kind, largely economic in character, which cannot be dealt with by good-will alone, but only by knowledge and laborious study. They will yield in many cases only to a combined attack over a long period of time by a large body of patient workers—an effort comparable to that sustained collective study by countless workers in different countries extending over generations which has been necessary to give man his present control over natural forces. A corresponding effort will be needed if he is to become master of the problem of human relations involved in modern industry and in racial contacts. The labour cannot be shirked if we want a solution of the problems. The undertaking of this work of research is doubtless in most cases the function not of the Church but of the State and of the various organs of society as a whole. But Christian public opinion needs to recognize how essential the work is if the antagonisms which are so serious a menace today to the Christian spirit of good-will and to understanding between the races are to be overcome, and, having recognized this, to throw its whole weight in favour of such research being undertaken by the appropriate bodies. This as well as direct evangelism is a part of the Christian mission in the world today.

If Christian missions are to undertake successfully the two tasks which have been indicated of relating themselves more directly on the one hand to the new knowledge and to the deliberate and conscious effort to influence through education the mind and character of successive generations, and on the other to the problems involved in industrial, international and inter-racial relations they will need new spiritual resources to enable them to fulfil this wider mission besides carrying forward the task of direct evangelism to which they are already committed. This need for a fuller and richer spiritual life, having its roots deep in the unseen world and drawing inspiration and strength from daily communion with God, is the third of the four things on which it was suggested earlier in the article the future of missions chiefly depends.

Finally, if the Christian mission is to be fulfilled in the world as it is today there is need of a new vision of the Church as a fellowship transcending the differences of class and nationality and race, as a society of men and women dedicated to the supreme purpose of hastening the coming of God's Kingdom. The reason why we must carry the Gospel to non-Christian peoples is not that they are naturally or morally inferior to the professedly Christian nations, but because their help and cooperation are needed in order that the reign of God may be brought nearer in East and West alike.

Greetings

Wherein We Welcome New Constituencies

To Searchlight Subscribers

A Statement from Lynn Haines for subscribers to "The Searchlight on Congress."

AN arrangement has been made whereby the subscription list of The Searchlight on Congress has been taken over by THE WORLD TOMORROW.

For years Mrs. Haines and I have kept this public service magazine alive, largely meeting its continuous deficit through our personal labors in research and record work.

The time will come, perhaps a century hence, when a file of The Searchlight will be invaluable. Its historical significance will be appreciated when humanity has passed beyond the present stage of futile experimentation with instrumentalities which are democratic only in name. It will then illuminate existing situations and tendencies as no other printed word can do. Looking back, men and women of the future will realize how vital its service should have been during the decades of that service.

Some have understood. Some have said that The Searchlight was worthy of a million regular readers. Instead its supporters never numbered more than a few thousand.

We are in no way resentful or discouraged. We would willingly undertake to go on with the burden, if it were not now apparent that our experience points plainly to a far larger usefulness.

The biggest fact in history, we have discovered, is that democracy has never had an original architect.

The only modern governmental construction has been repair work upon an old structure—an old structure which could not conceivably be made over to serve the purposes of an adequate and enduring representative system.

Most of those elements in government which have generally been accepted as fundamental to democracy are in reality antagonistic, both in principle and practice, to the very existenec of democracy.

Therefore every effort, past or present, to solve the problems of public relationships has resulted in failure. Because of basic fallacies, the greater each attempt at reconstruction the greater was its final futility. So-called liberalism, here and throughout the world, has been superficial and in the end ineffective.

The principle of popular sovereignty and the practice of popular suffrage have never yet harmonized in governmental results. That is democracy's greatest and most unsolved problem. No nation has ever even approched a proper and permanent solution.

Our experience has taught us that every effort toward democracy will be futile until there is a very new and different system, both foundationally and with respect to superstructure.

We know why and wherein the existing structure is breaking down.

We propose so to survey and chart each and every feature of the existing system that thinking people will be able to perceive, not only its fallacies, but also fundamentals upon which a new structure must be builded.

That is the supreme need of America and the world today. Otherwise we and the world will go on and on in endless cycles of governmental futility.

We are turning The Searchlight over to THE WORLD TOMORROW, a most worthy successor, in order that we may have more freedom to help humanity find the missing links in government.

Except for the publication of The Searchlight, our Washington work will continue. The information assembled and the facilities for furnishing the records of federal officials could not be duplicated at a labor cost of less than a hundred thousand dollars. These facilities will be kept intact in the hope that progressive groups and individuals will want the truth about public persons and problems.

It will do little lasting good, however, to change governmental regimes, either wholly or partially. The trouble lies deeper—in a system which is inherently and functionally dynastic, rather than democratic, as its name implies.

The people of the world must now unlearn practically all that centuries of "political science" have taught and take a completely new view of public relationships, wholly without preconception or prejudice of any kind.

That is the great task before us—to help redefine democracy, in the light of its failures, and not according to traditional thinking.

Such a survey is under way. Already vital new principles have taken shape. At least a year of the most intensive work will be required to complete the picture. When that is done humanity will have been rendered a service of unparalleled importance.

I would like to hear from people whose interest is likely to lead to needed co-operation.

LYNN HAINES

Lenox Bldg., Washington, D. C.

From the Editor of "The Modern World"

WITH the whole field to choose from we selected THE WORLD TOMORROW to fill the unexpired subscriptions of the MODERN WORLD believing that is was closer to our own policy and outlook than any other American magazine.

I, personally, have for a long time greatly admired the excellent journal you and your associates have produced. It has vigor, earnestness, courage, and a truly liberal viewpoint. These are qualities sadly lacking in American journalism!

Our own policy varied from yours only in stressing the scientific rather than the religious approach, the international rather than the domestic situation and in our especial pre-occupation with the nesessity for more efficient diffusion of knowledge.

I sincerely believe that our subscribers will be greatly pleased with THE WORLD TOMORROW and I am trusting that many, or all of them, will be only too glad to have the opportunity of giving to you the renewal of the subscriptions which we were seeking to deserve.

Arnold, Maryland JESSE LEE BENNETT

Findings

Narrow Conspiracies

And I saw clearly that families are narrow conspiracies set one against the other; that herein lies the seed of strife and greed.—*Henri Barbusse,* Jesus, *p. 28.*

Imperishable

An idea can not be shot out of existence, or starved out or jailed out, neither can it be knaved out by the technique of political intrigue.—*Albert Jay Nock,* The Freeman Book, *p. 17.*

Amen!

Doing any one's thinking is no part of this paper's business; to attempt it is an immense and silly pretension.—*Albert Jay Nock,* The Freeman Book, *p. 45.*

Quakers and Indians

Penn came to the wild men saying, it is our intention to deal justly, that we may live in peace and security with all men, therefore we make no preparation for trouble. This was a novel and extremely entertaining idea to the red men, and above all convincing. In the seventy-five years of Quaker ascendancy, no one of that persuasion was killed by an Indian. Even in the days of the Scotch-Irish influence, when life in Pennsylvania had become so precarious that a Presbyterian clergyman entered the pulpit with a Bible in one hand and a rifle in the other, Quakers traveled through the country and held their meetings as usual, without fear of molestation.—*Mary Agnes Best,* Rebel Saints, *p. 168.*

Excessive Panegyric vs. Outrageous Abuse

The truth is, he who commences any reform which at last becomes one of transcendant importance and is crowned with victory, is always ill-judged and unfairly estimated. At the outset he is looked upon with contempt, and treated in the most opprobrious manner, as a wild fanatic or a dangerous disorganizer. In due time the cause grows and advances to its sure triumph; and in proportion as it nears the goal, the popular estimate of his character changes, till finally excessive panegyric is substituted for outrageous abuse.—*Wm. L. Garrison,* at the Celebration of the 20th Anniversary of the Liberator.

Elements of Success

It is even doubtful whether business or professional success, except in the domain of science and art, can be attained without a certain betrayal of soul. The betrayal may have been small, but at some point one has been compressed, one has yielded to alien forces and conformed to what the heart did not give assent to. It may be that one has kept silent when one should have spoken, that one has feigned interests and enthusiasms, or done work that he knew was idle and useless, in order to achieve some goal; but always that goal has been reached not spontaneously but under a foreign pressure.—*Randolph Bourne,* Youth and Life, *pp. 274, 275.*

Our readers are urged to send in significant "Findings" from which we may make selections for future issues.

The "American Plan"

Thus the claim that the superior intelligence of certain members of society justifies the social inequalities that make up most of the misery of the world does not differ in any respect from the claim of the physically strongest men in a barbaric race to seize and possess the handsomest women and the finest oxen.—*Lester F. Ward,* Applied Sociology, *p. 23.*

Imprisoned by Facts

It is a dangerous error to confound truth with matter-of-fact. Our life is governed not only by facts, but by hopes; the kind of truthfulness which sees nothing but facts is a prison for the human spirit. Dreams are only to be condemned when they are a lazy substitute for an effort to change reality; when they are an incentive, they are fulfilling a vital purpose in the incarnation of human ideals. To kill fancy in childhood is to make a slave to what exists, a creature tethered to earth and therefore unable to create heaven.—*Bertrand Russell,* Education and the Good Life, *p. 129.*

Idly and Vapidly

The cultivated American, the college-bred American, the American intellectual who professes the creed of internationalism has turned down the path that leads to moral emasculation. . . . He practices a philosophy dear to those who think idly, dear to those who live vapidly, dear to those whose hearts are both cold and feeble.—*Theodore Roosevelt,* The Great Adventure, *pp. 81, 82.*

Living in the Machine Age

When a popular film described a college as a small school attached to a vast stadium, it was greeted with rejoicing that was authoritative in its heartiness. And yet they were right who claimed that learning in the American colleges of the machine age was more diverse, bolder, and more speculative, freer in spirit and more enlivened by the saving grace of humor than the same learning in earlier ages. It had to be conceded that schools of art, drama, and music flourished as never before. Certainly the whole process of education was subjected to a more searching analysis than in any previous period.—*Chas. A and Mary Beard,* The Rise of American Civilization, *Vol. 2, p. 795.*

A Renowned Soldier on Soldiering

It came upon me freshly how the secret of the uniform was to make a crowd solid, dignified, impersonal: to give it the singleness and tautness of an upstanding man. This death's livery which walled its bearers from ordinary life, was sign that they had sold their wills and bodies to the State: and contracted themselves into a service not less abject for that its beginning was voluntary. . . . Convicts had violence put upon them. Slaves might be free, if they could, in intention. But the soldier assigned his owner the twenty-four hours' use of his body; and sole conduct of his mind and passions. A convict had license to hate the rule which confined him, and all humanity outside, if he were greedy in hate: but the sulking soldier was a bad soldier; indeed, no soldier. His affections must be hired pieces on the chess-board of the King.—*T. E. Lawrence,* Revolt in the Desert, *p. 317.*

A Snapshot of Youth

WILLIAM ORTON

THE examination mill, grinding out its annual harvest of grades and graduates, comes slowly to a standstill; and the college population, like Leacock's knight, mounts its horse and gallops furiously in all directions. Among the number a surprising proportion has caught the conference habit. This student world, in fact, probably stages more conferences, national and international, than any other section at any time. The socialist internationals are nothing to it. This particular conference—officially the Eastern Student Conference of the Y. W. C. A.—has delegations from two or three dozen colleges, along with visiting student representatives from France, England, China, Japan and possibly other countries; it includes, without special prearrangement, members of all the main races and most of the western creeds.

But it is not as bad as it sounds. The promoters have mercifully left free time enough for the girls to talk (or refrain from talking), to walk, to get on or into Lake George, and to improvise a large part of their own program. There are three loosely defined "interest groups" (international relations, personal relations, and religious issues) meeting daily, beside one or two general assemblies of the four hundred; and a sprinkling of college teachers, field workers and visiting lecturers called in to function *ad hoc* as the situation demands.

All the side shows are arranged more or less spontaneously. The delegations from X, Y and Z would like to meet Professor Blank in the boathouse tonight at eight-thirty. Members of groups A and B want to hear Miss So-and-so from group C in a free-for-all discussion this afternoon. It works well, because these college women have learned to know what they want. The bigger groups divide into smaller groups, and there are minor constellations at all hours discussing Y. W. organization, the uses of college (if any), student government, curriculum revision, personal problems—and you, if you happen to be one of the speakers. They talk more frankly than on their native heaths, and questions move quickly to issues.

To your own college delegation you may still be primarily a professor, by long association; but to the rest that is mere hearsay, you are simply a "resource person" to be weighed in the balance and found wanting —or not, as the case may be.

IF the conference has a common basis—and it has—that basis is not easily defined. There is the restlessness and the realism (or aspiration to realism) common to students everywhere just now; and this bunch represents, I suppose, the section that has refused, for one reason or another, to accept a strictly materialistic solution to its problems. The reasons for the refusal are various. Background, temperament, association, inertia, account for a good deal of it. Negative fear and positive taste play their parts. With some it is the result of intelligence too alert to accept at face value the naive mechanistic assumptions of their teachers. It is an odd and somewhat disconcerting experience, five minutes after a discussion of Freud or Spengler, to find yourself singing Whittier's "Dear Lord and Father" or Tennyson's "Strong Son of God" alongside the same people.

It happens that a Chinese is the first person to address the entire assembly—a figure of extraordinary grace and clarity, a Tanagra statuette in black silk. You cannot picture him hurrying from meeting to meeting in Pullman cars across America. You are shocked to learn that most of his talking is to business groups and Chambers of Commerce. But tonight he reads parallel passages from Confucius and the New Testament; and then he expounds the Jesus of the Orient to this occidental assembly. He does not like the western conception of the Man of Sorrows: dwells instead on the serenity, the poise, the assurance of Jesus. The Jesus who *knew*. You are reminded of someone's saying that the proof of the oriental origin of Christianity is the failure of the West to understand it. Then he reveals the content of the roll of newspaper he carried on the top of his briefcase: plays a few folk tunes on his flute—limpid, poignant tunes moving quietly up and down a pentatonic scale. He becomes, in retrospect, a symbol of something: of something which the rest of the conference seems trying to define: trying in vain.

Others follow, coming in by boat or auto, staying a few days, hurrying off to other conferences. Somebody says, "With an economist, a sociologist, and a geologist all trying to make mystics of 'em, they'll surely get somewhere." But where they are getting—?

The unequal distribution of wealth is much on their minds, and the economist is almost *non grata* for insisting on Stamp's verdict: "If the Christian ethic cannot do any better than alter static distribution, it is bankrupt so far as its real effect on economic better-

ment is concerned." There have been one or two spectacular renunciation cases which are much discussed and criticised. Renunciation as a personal necessity—perhaps, who knows? But renunciation conceived as a contribution to the social problem—well, again, who knows? One's mind goes back however to Russia in the seventies. The cruellest thing to say is that there is nothing directly or immediately effective that the individual as such can do: strong young wings are beating all the time against that limitation. Or are they merely externalizing an unsatisfied inner need? Constantly one encounters a vague but persistent apprehension of the possibility of spiritual experience; and one is struck by the almost total lack, in America, of any adequate tradition or technique for it.

IT would like to feel itself a unity in some sphere, this youth group; but it knows that it is not. Quite candidly, visiting international delegates describe the disruption. If the War had ended differently, perhaps—but now churches, parties, classes, nationalisms, irridentisms without number are busy annexing each its section. The West is more or less united in opposition to force; but the East is not ready for that yet. How should it be, when high explosive is the only sort of knocking on the door the West can hear? Yet there is something: at least they seem to understand each other's differences. . . .

THE day ends with discussion groups parked at random in the cabins or on the hillside. Tonight we are indoors, for the midges are biting fiercely; and the place reeks of citronella. Someone has been reading devotional poetry; at its close there is a spontaneous move to put out the lights—not to encourage devotion, but to discourage the gnats. The gnats are not discouraged. Outside, hiking parties are noisily climbing back to their cabins higher up the hill. Someone is playing Chopin down in the auditorium—playing remarkably well; from farther off the jazz rhythm blows vaguely.

We sit in silence, until somebody shoots the first question into the dark. What attitude do you think we ought to take about the war debts? The economist, possibly a little weary of four days international economics, fences: doesn't conceive it his job to tell people what attitude they ought to take. But he is not to get out of it so easily. "Didn't Mr. Churchill say," "Don't the French maintain—" "Why does Mr. Mellon—." One discovers with a shock of surprise (why it should be surprising is not evident) that many of these young women have learned something in college; some of them, a good deal. The leader tries another cast. Why this preoccupation, anyhow? Well, these are ethical as well as economic questions. Yes, and this is a Christian conference.

What has that to do with it? Plenty of people maintain that you can get a quite adequate ethics from science alone. What does the group think about that? Group seems disposed to agree—several agree explicitly. In which case, where does religion come in? Ethics of Jesus? Application rather nebulous. Group seems a little inclined to accept any *a priori* ethics. Religion is a matter of individual experience, of emotion, says one. Some support, some dissent. We don't like emotion as a guide to policy. Herd-mind, heresy hunting, hundred-per-centism, American Legion. It isn't all emotion, anyway. Common basis of belief? Creed? Faith? Does one need any faith? Possibly. Sometimes. There may come situations demanding a solution for which knowledge is not adequate—not yet. Group rather lost. Leader is tempted to broach the philosophy of value, but refrains; is also tempted to probe individual attitudes about deity, but it seems hardly fair. Someone suggests religion may supply the power to follow a reasoned ethics. A voice mentions the Chinese. . . .

The bell rings. We disperse in twos and threes under the starlight, under the pine trees, in anything but devotional silence. The dark hill is full of voices, singing, laughing, arguing. . . .

After all, the Marvins and Cashmans are right. This is a Menace, this youth business. A menace to humbug.

The Sunset of the Century

(Written in the Bengali on the last day of the last century)

THE last sun of the century sets amidst the blood-red clouds of the West and the whirlwind of hatred.

The naked passions of self-love of Nations, in its drunken delirium of greed, is dancing to the clash of steel and the howling verses of vengeance.

The hungry self of the Nation shall burst in a violence of fury from its own shameless feeding.

For it has made the world its food,

And licking it, crunching it, and swallowing it in big morsels,

It swells and swells

Till in the midst of its unholy feast descends the sudden shift of heaven piercing its heart of grossness.

The crimson glow of light on the horizon is not the light of the dawn of peace, my Motherland.

It is the glimmer of the funeral pyre burning to ashes the vast flash—the self-love of the Nation—dead under its own excess.

The morning waits behind the patient dark of the East,

Meek and silent.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

—From Nationalism.

Four Plans to Aid Farmers

DAVID LAWRENCE

THE spokesmen for the farmers of the country complain that with the rising cost to the farmer for the things he buys and rising labor costs on the farm he cannot eke out his existence with some of the prices he has been getting for farm products in recent years. We produce in America approximately 800,000,000 bushels of wheat every year and of this amount all but 200,000,000 bushels are consumed within the United States. The rest of it must find a market somewhere across the ocean. Liverpool is the big wheat exchange of the world. There Argentina comes with her surplus wheat, there come Canada and Australia all anxious to get rid of their surplus. Naturally when each country is eager to sell, the buyers force the price down to the lowest possible point. If there is a scarcity of wheat due to crop failures the buyer has to pay virtually whatever the seller asks. Anyway it is at Liverpool that the world price for wheat is fixed.

Now if the world price is about $1.25 a bushel it means that with twenty-five cents added for freight the price of American wheat at Liverpool is $1.50. But the farmer gets only $1.25 and when the exporters reach into the American market to buy the 200,000,000 available for export they are buying such a large amount, namely one-fourth of the total production, that in effect the world price becomes the American price.

In other words the American farmer contends he is being forced to let go of wheat at prices fixed at Liverpool and under circumstances beyond his own control. That's the problem. Now what are the suggested remedies? There are four major plans: One is called the McNary-Haugen bill, passed by a majority of Congress at the last session but vetoed by the President; another is called the Jardine plan because it was developed by the Secretary of Agriculture, W. M. Jardine, and is somewhat similar to the Curtis-Crisp bill. A third is called the export debenture plan and is sponsored by the National Grange, while a fourth has just been revealed by a business men's commission appointed by the United States Chamber of Commerce and the National Industrial Conference Board but acting independently of either body.

The McNary-Haugen plan is the one which has in it the much talked about equalization fee. Briefly the plan would be applied to wheat, corn, rye, barley, rice, cotton and port products. Take wheat for example. If eight hundred million bushels were produced, then an export corporation or national farm board would be set up to buy the 200,000,000 that would ordinarily be exported. But the price would be the world price plus the present tariff of about 42 cents. For instance if Liverpool fixed the price of world wheat at $1.25 per bushel then the American producers would add 42 cents to their price and would not sell their wheat for less than $1.67 a bushel. The American consumer would be required to pay that price because the export factor would be eliminated. The 200,000,000 bushels of surplus ordinarily used to force the domestic price down would be taken out of the market for sale abroad. It would be sold, too, at the world price of $1.25 for instance which would be at a loss of 42 cents but every farmer would be taxed to make up that loss. Thus the 200,000,000 bushels sold at a loss of 42 cents each or $84,000,000 would be distributed over the entire 800,000,000 bushels of production making a tax of about 10 cents a bushel outside of course of the cost of collecting the tax.

Some people call it a tax. The proponents of the bill call it an equalization fee. Subtracting ten cents, however, from $1.67 the farmer would theoretically get $1.57 per bushel which of course is just about 32 cents more than the present world price of $1.25 and of course 32 cents is a considerable increase if the farmer can really realize that much. The opponents of the bill say he cannot because the tendency to overproduce would be so great that each year the surplus would get larger and the equalization fee or tax much larger. Anyway, the plan never has been tried so nobody knows really what the farmer would get under the plan.

The fee would be assessed against the farmer and the defenders of the plan say it will not cost the government any considerable sum except expenses of administration.

The National Grange's plan known as the export debenture project would not assess the farmers but the loss in selling the surplus abroad would be taken out of customs receipts. For instance every exporter of wheat would get from the treasury a certificate which would be the difference between the world price and the domestic price, and that certificate could be sold to people who have to pay customs duties, such as the importers. In other words, money that would ordinarily be paid for customs duties would not come in but debentures or certificates would be accepted at the ports of the United States instead. The sponsors

of the plan say it would be an easy tax to collect and the total amount, say $84,000,000 in the illustration I gave earlier, would be easily absorbed by the government as an aid to agriculture. Here again the opponents of the plan say that the temptation to overproduce will be unrestricted.

The third and fourth plans are somewhat alike. The Jardine scheme calls for a stabilization process rather than government purchase of the whole export surplus. In every commodity there would be set up a stabilization corporation. It would have a nominal capital stock and would have a board of directors who had to be satisfactory to the government as well as to the commodity which is to be merchandised. All government information would be placed at the disposal of the corporation. Whenever a commodity, say cotton, for instance, showed signs of declining in price due either to panic on the part of the cotton farmers or to any one of a dozen other factors that should not but actually do depress prices, the stabilization corporation would announce its intention to buy cotton. Now the corporation would be privately owned and would buy at a price which it thought cotton was worth and that would be an estimate based on the law of supply and demand but on scientific data not available to individual farmers ordinarily. To buy cotton, the stabilization corporation would borrow whatever funds needed. It would get 60 per cent from the intermediate banking system and 40 per cent from the federal farm loan board. The price at which purchases would be made would not be the expected top price but a basic price. If the stabilization corporation made money it would have to borrow less each year. The theory is that the government would not lose on its loans because it would lend on a price which the product was certain to bring. The money obtained from the federal intermediate system would be in the nature of a first mortgage and the forty per cent from the federal farm board would be in the nature of a second mortgage.

"Shine?"

WALTER BURR

"IT'S not always easy," said the doctor, making conversation act as an anesthetic while he proceeded to work on me, "to find speakers for our twice-a-month meeting. If anyone thinks it is, let him take the job for a while, of being chairman of the program committee."

The doctor had explained that this responsibility was his in one of the luncheon-service clubs of his community. He continued:

"After about so long we have exhausted all of our real local talent, and then when we have sent away for some big guns a few times, and discovered how the expense ran up, the fellows have called a halt on that way of getting speakers. We've tried some stunts, but have about run out of material along that line."

"Would you be interested," I asked, "in having a lecture by an authority on Greek history and literature? A man who has travelled in Greece, lived among the people, and who can actually translate their ancient classics and happenings in terms of their present-day life?"

"We certainly would!" exclaimed the doctor. "But there is the problem again. To bring in such a man would entail expenses that would make the plan prohibitive."

"I will supply you with such a man," I replied, "provided you will give him a place on your program, and not announce him until the men are at the luncheon and ready for the speech. It won't cost you a cent, either."

Whether from an extreme confidence in his client, or a desire to retain his good-will and patronage, the doctor agreed to the proposition.

* * * * *

IT was Tuesday noon. The club was meeting in its regular banquet room on Main Street. Some thirty or forty men were eating together, singing songs together, yelling together—and going through all those other gyrations that the Rotary and Kiwanis and Lions have brought in to give men an excuse for acting as they did in the pre-Volstead days. The president of the First National Bank was there, looking pompous as is becoming to the president of The First National with a big building down on a Main Street corner, and knowing the financial rating of every man in the little city of eight thousand souls (to say nothing of more corporeal entities). There were two preachers there—perfectly safe, since they were both Protestants—one a Methodist and the other a Presbyterian. The latter was acting as chairman, so that the blue blood of orthodoxy insured that nothing irregular should transpire. The principal of the high school was present, with a group of young men, one hundred per cent American, since the state law requires a complete course in "The Constitution." The young men had won places in athletic contests, and were invited to the dinner as an honor well deserved. It was a perfectly safe and orthodox crowd.

The routine business had been performed, with announcement of new committees that would never com-

mit anything, and explanations why old committees had not yet committed.

Then the good doctor, chairman of the program committee, arose to confess the crime which he had committed. He announced his speaker, an authority on Greek history and literature.

The speaker arose. Some rubbed their eyes and looked again. Others recognized him and hung their heads, wondering what mistake had been made to bring this derelict into the realm of the Main Street elect.

JOHN VALLERIS runs the shoe shine parlor just across the street from the big hotel. His cousin is his assistant. Every day including Sunday they stoop over people's shoes, making the shine cloths snap, while they look up into people's faces with winning smiles. Newspapers and magazines lie temptingly along the seats where customers are to sit, and among them now and then a Greek newspaper, printed in Athens. Yes, Valleris, or "Valles," as he has made it for short, is a Greek bootblack.

Have you friends who have travelled in Greece? Have they talked to you about the week they spent at Athens, the wonders of the Parthenon, where they spent a few hours, the marvels of Greek art and literature?

But how often have these same world travellers been face to face in our shine shops with men who were born and raised among these wonders, and who know more about it all than any globe trotter could acquire in several weeks' visit! But of course an American would not expect to learn anything from a dirty-fisted Greek bootblack. He would rather spend a thousand dollars to have a paid guide show him the Parthenon for a few moments. Then he would come back, having added two per cent or more to his already one hundred percentism. He would talk about the Nordic race, and how we must keep out these low-lived people from southern Europe.

SO there stood John Valleris, to talk to an American Main Street delegation. At first he was embarrassed; but presently he was carried away with the picture he was presenting of his beloved Greece.

Also, Main Street was carried away. The president of the First National let out his belt a bit and slumped down to listen just like any ordinary fellow. After the first amazement the preachers forgot themselves and became intensely interested. For John was telling, in broken English, but right out of his heart, about the soul of a people who are in the literary and social background of all of us. He pictured their early days, when they were weak. He told of Solon, of Pericles, and other early leaders. He threw on the screen of imagination moving pictures of the battle of Thermopylae and of the other unequal conflicts.

"We got one man," he almost sobbed in his eloquence, "who was runner. After the battle, he got so full of glad he come run all the way to Athens. When he get there, he just say, 'We won!' And he so full of glad, he just drop right there and die." It wasn't funny. Among those Main Streeters there was not a dry eye, as the Greek bootblack came to this climax and expressed it in these words.

On he carried us to the Asia Minor conflicts, to the greater world victories, to the wealth flowing in from all parts of the known world.

"What we do with that money?" he asked in a tragic manner. He was talking now to men who knew about money, this bookblack, speaking to bank presidents and their satellites. He was doubtless thinking what *they* would do "with that money," if they had it.

"What we do with that money? We don't spend it on things just for ourselves. We spend it on literature and art. We put it back of architects and builders; we make it pay for drama—and all dem tings. Jewish religion come along, and we Greeks Hellenize that. Christian religion come along, and we Hellenize that. In Alexandria we save for the whole world the big minds and lives of the world, so history and literature and art—she don't all be lost. So today in university dey study *our* language, dey study *our* history; dey study *our* art; dey study *our* philosophy. Socrates, Plato, Aristotle—dey don't die yet."

This member of the Greek Orthodox Church, the representative of Socrates and his pupils, and the reincarnated voice of Philo—this Main Street bootblack—forgot that there were perfectly good Protestant preachers present, and in closing he became a preacher. Raising his hand aloft in a warning gesture, he exclaimed:

"Now, what about us Americans! Ve got money. Ve got the world's wealth. Wot we do with it? America must put *her* money back of learning, and art, and music and drama, or I think mebby we Americans live —and *die*—and NOBODY EVER KNOW WE LIVE!"

So said the dirty Greek bootblack, and went back to shining shoes.

We'll Say They Have

It behooves us to view the radical with respect, for he has the courage of his convictions and lives a life of ideals in a materialistic age; to view the liberal with compassion, for he is the conservative of tomorrow; to view the conservative with kindly tolerance, for verily it takes all kinds of people to make a world, and they have their reward.—T. Swann Harding, in *The Open Court.*

Clippings

The Blessings of Gas Warfare

Alarmists have repeatedly mistaken the effect of new inventions. The ability to wage gas warfare is a blessing—not a curse—and will make for the future security, peace, and happiness of the world.—*J. E. Mills, of the U. S. Chemical Warfare Service,* The Literary Digest, *October 29, 1927.*

Rocking the Sacred Ark of Competition

But I do say that destructive competition in an industry as large as ours, for the sole purpose of gaining a position in the industry, is ill-advised and costly to the people who have their money in the industry.—*Charles M. Schwab, Chairman of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation,* New York Times, *October 29, 1927.*

The Great Desideratum

The whole agricultural problem falls flat if we do not determinedly give battle to the influence of great sums expended to win election to office. The farmer can never hope to compete politically if election to office is dependent first upon the size of the purse.—*Senator Nye, as quoted in the* New York Times *for November 4, 1927.*

What About a Peace-Hog?

It is difficult to describe a war-hog in language that will not violate our postal laws. Probably the kindliest description of him is this: He is an imitation civilized human being who hoards for higher prices, or greatly overcharges for necessities in life while our Government is seeking to level prices, to cope with a monstrous war situation. . . . Only a piker and a tin horn sport and a cad and a hog—the hoggiest kind of a profiteering beast—would charge top prices for the very necessities of life. There should be some plan whereby he might be tagged.—*John Bruce Mitchell,* The Forum *58: 650, 652.*

Look This Up!

I have tried to review briefly the important fields in which evidence of Negro inferiority is most likely to be found, if found at all. In no case is the proof conspicuous by its volume—rather the opposite appears true.—*James M. Reinhardt,* The American Journal of Sociology, *September, 1927, pp. 248-261.*

Abandon Censorship

I went to Washington as a swivel-chair soldier and was eventually put in charge of the military censorship section of the Military Intelligence Division. I could secure the suppression of any newspaper, book, photograph, news item or speech by putting certain machinery in motion. I did my best to prevent anybody from saying a good word for the Germans or a bad word for any of our Allies. I was particularly eager that nobody should say a word against war in general, and that war in particular. Yet I always felt that the suppression was only justified as a military measure, and the moment peace was declared I urged that absolutely every form of censorship should be ended at once, and completely.—*Rupert Hughes,* American Legion Monthly, *July, 1927.*

Our readers are urged to send in significant "Clippings' from which we may make selections for future issues.

A Navy Second to None

I am as much against a competitive naval program as anyone in the United States, but a navy second to none is the way to assure peace. . . . I am against independence for the Philippines. The Philippine people are not able to maintain a government. They cannot even maintain an army or navy for their own protection.— *Rep. Updike of Indiana,* U. S. Daily, *October 21, 1927.*

Undermining Versailles

I do not claim that Austria or Germany, in this first phase, had a conscious thought-out intention of provoking a general war. No existing document gives us the right to suppose that, at that time, they planned anything so systematic.—*Raymond Poincare,* Foreign Affairs, *October, 1925.*

United Fruit Company's President Speaking

"It has been proven time and time again that there is little use in bolstering up foreign trade by Imperialism. In Indo-China, which French influence and laws gave preference to France, nearly all the trade of that dependency, both export and import, goes to other countries. Great Britain, with her African possessions, has rather less than 1 per cent of their foreign trade. And it is a fact that our own Philippine Islands have never been profitable as a possession.—*Victor M. Cutter,* Current History, *Oct., 1927.*

More Dangerous Than Shot and Shell

For now we are engaged in another conflict—penetrating and insidious, led by so-called pacifists, demagogues and others who would undermine the foundations of free government. They employ even more dangerous weapons than shot and shell. Through unwholesome propaganda they would lure us into the strange and uncharted sea of internationalism and communism. They would destroy all that we cherish and substitute in its place something of hideous mien. . . . The enemy we must combat today seeks to find lodgment in the tender emotional nature of our women for his vain reasoning, his false delusion. He seeks to persuade the dauntless mothers and widows who suffered loss of sons and husbands that their noble sacrifice was futile.—*General John J. Pershing,* McCall's Magazine, *November, 1927, p. 5.*

A Banker on Tariffs

A protective tariff can build up an industry which would not otherwise be developed in a country because the country's aptitudes in other lines are greater. It does this, however, only at the expense of other industries, by drawing labor and supplies away from them or by imposing burdens upon them. . . . Finally, everybody is hurt by the tariff as a consumer. Everybody in the United States pays more for many commodities than it would be necessary to pay if there were not tariffs on these commodities. This extra payment by the consumers constitutes the price which the country pays for maintaining in present volume certain industries for which the country is not so well adapted comparatively as it is for other industries. It constitutes the subsidy which the country supplies to certain industries to enable them to bid away labor and capital from other industries which could use the labor and capital better if there were no tariffs.—*B. M. Anderson,* Chase Economic Bulletin, *August 24, 1925.*

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The Book End

The World Tomorrow reviews only books which it believes to be helpful and interesting. On rare occasions it includes unfavorable comment on a popular volume which seems sufficiently misleading to render adverse criticism imperative.

Does Civilization Need Religion?

REINHOLD NIEBUHR'S book of this title is a challange to present day Christians to fulfill the genius of their faith as an ethical religion. While it recogniżes that the dying condition of current religion is due to two causes—failure to adapt its intellectual affirmations to scientific fact and inability to conquer the hostile, unethical environment of nationalistic industrialism—it sees and shows clearly that the chance of recovery depends upon the ability to mobilize all resources upon the ethical problem. If it had done no more than make this point and driven it home, it would have more than justified itself. If we can find out how to live together in a machine age, we shall thereby increase our resources for the solution of the metaphysical problem; if we cannot, our philosophy and theology, no matter how well adjusted to the discoveries of the physical sciences, will only provide us with an obituary. Because he surveys the field from a philosophical background and with the philosophical method, Reinhold Niebuhr makes a distinct contribution to the forces working for the revitalization of Christianity, when he shows at just what point the issue is joined with the battalions of death.

This approach makes his diagnosis of the ethical impotence of Protestantism deal with its essential nature more than with particular situations. Herein he has summarized for American readers and illuminated from his own knowledge of the American scene, the findings of the German scholars, Weber and Troeltsch. That work of this kind can be done by a practical pastor is a sign of hope. That it has been done often in brief quotable sentences is an occasion for gratitude, mingled with some regret that more logical rigor was not used in the synthetic handling of previously published essays. To what extent Protestantism is a sanction for the interests of the middle class; why its orthodoxy, its modernism, and its by-product—ethical culture, are all so futile before the life and death problems of modern society, why those who seek anew the Jesus way of life sometimes turn off into another way of escape—these and other matters essential to the re-valuation and re-formation of the Christian religion are set forth with a penetrating insight. There is also analysis of those factors in the situation which lie outside the traditional heritage of Christianity, in other parts of our complex social organization.

There are two more notable features to this brief volume. One is an endeavor to harness the mystical element in religion, to harmonize worldliness and other-worldliness, to transcend and transform the world at one and the same time. The other is the proposal of a philosophical basis for an ethical religion. All that these flint-hearted editors with their dole of words will permit me to do with this is to give it a name. It is a pluralistic dualism, and this reader wishes it had been left for fuller treatment in a later book in which the author would draw from Hobhouse as he has from Schweitzer and Whitehead, for it seems obvious that an ethical philosophy of religion waits upon the sociological rather than the metaphysical approach. Therefore if this book is written after Mr. Niebuhr has done more articles like those on Ford and the one on what the war did to him it will have a different flavor, and I am sure it will be more readable for the preachers, who sadly need it. The fact that this subject is treated in the last chapter before the conclusion, that the author was unable to follow the implications of one of his own judgments, and in a situation in which most of our religion is clearly inimical to moral values, to concentrate on them at the price of leaving the metaphysical problem at loose ends for the time being, reveals I think, the common tendency of traditionally educated intellectuals to overweight the influence of abstract ideas upon life. The fulfillment of the law, the prophets and Jesus, in whom Mr. Niebuhr finds his dualism implicit, will be in ethical action; and out of this experience we shall get the materials for a sounder philosophy.

At the point of action Mr. Niebuhr calls in the mystical, otherworldly element in religion. He keenly exposes the peril of becoming conformed to the world that lies in the attempt to transform it. He suggests a new asceticism that would manifest detachment from, and indifference to, the things of this world, and work toward the equalization of standards of living by voluntary limitation. He maintains that Christianity has power in the principle of the cross, and its meaning for self realization, to curb the expansive, acquisitive desires of individuals and nations. But unfortunately he gives us only brief and general hints as how this may be done. How for instance are these new ascetics to affect the expansive appetites and policies of their national groups in a situation whose complexity properly appropriates one of his chapters? Here is obviously the root problem of economic organization, its nature and consequences. It is equally obvious that the Russian Communists are the only people who are attempting on a large scale to conjoin discipline of personal desires and control of the economic machine, including as they do the co-operative approach in their program. Therefore they cannot be dismissed from the stage with telling phrases about Marxian cynics or brutal determinism. At some points we have to go to school to them.

One of these is the point that underlies Mr. Niebuhr's tactic of both transcending and transforming the world at the same time, the point at which he finds the crux of the problem, namely the necessity of uniting critical intelligence and moral passion. Is there anywhere else, has there ever been, such a fervent attempt to use technical methods and processes for human welfare. We say religion alone can do this effectively. They say religion is dead, that science is now the saviour of mankind. Meantime an analysis of what they are doing and why they are doing it will show—what? The fact that science, like poetry, does in its creative moments unite reason and imagination, critical intelligence and passion, raises the question of whether they are as naturally incompatible as Mr. Niebuhr assumes. At least it indicates some available allies for religion in its attempt to unite them. In that attempt we will have to stop using synonymously the terms Christianity and Religion. Also we will have to beware of too easy generalizations about the pessimism of the East and the optimism of the West. The concrete situation shows a different picture.

The themes Mr. Niebuhr has taken require more space than he has used, as does this review, if it would adequately represent him. His positions need more documentation from concrete circumstance. His gifts require a different medium than magazine articles and a brief summary volume. The task that he has outlined requires some synthetic work in the fields of social psychology and the psychology of religion. Just what is the interdependence of the individual and the group? What is the nature of this dynamic that we loosely speak of as moral or social passion? When and how does this become religious? There are other basic questions in the field of historical sociology. What is moral purpose according to its records? And what has "religious inspiration" to do with it? Does the record justify "a perfect ethical freedom which makes no compromise with life's immediate necessities?" And again in the history and philosophy of religion! Are we facing different types of religion, needed to satisfy varying temperaments? Or is it a problem of adjusting the various aspects of religion—the intellectual, the mystical, the ethical? The researches of many men must be synthesized before we can get on with this side of the problem. Mr. Niebuhr has a talent for this kind of work. Will our religious and economic machinery give him time and space and means to do it? (Published by Macmillan, $1.75.)

HARRY F. WARD

In the City of Dreadful Night

A SENSITIVE little boy, from a sunny, cherishing home, had a sore fright one day at a railroad station. Though less than three years old, he felt humiliated because of it. A few years later, he was set upon by a screeching mob of school children, at a moment when the savage instinct for what is called "sport" possessed them.

Now he is fifty. He has had a very fair share—outwardly speaking—of the joys of life, especially the intellectual joys. He has missed the great experience of parenthood; but as some offset to this, he has been a teacher. He has had the joy of speaking for unpopular causes—for the rights of the Negro, for peace in time of war. But when the joys of life approached him, they were chilled, they were blunted; something cheated him, as for long years Tolstoi was cheated, out of the delight of their sweetness, the shock of their glory. And when the volcano of his sorrow befell him, though it burnt him to the bone, it worked nothing upon him of sorrow's potential peace.

Instead it has let loose upon him the long-underground monsters of his early frights. He cannot without agony travel upon a railroad train. He cannot bear to be far from his own house. Thus it has been for fifteen years.

He has "tried everything."

This man is William Ellery Leonard, the poet, a professor at the University of Wisconsin. I think *The Locomotive God*[1] is the most tragic book I ever read. What can have stiffened and iced a human spirit like this against all the rich ministries of life? Surely it cannot be personal ambition! It cannot be individual pride!

In all the close printed pages of his autobiography he nowhere tells what his cosmic philosophy is. And yet perhaps he tells it everywhere. Perhaps on every page it is clear—(I often thought so while I was reading it)—that he has lived these fifty years in a state of unrecognized homesickness for the sustaining sense of the universal life. Perhaps it is as plain as if he had said so himself on the last page, that he has always been subject to an obscure fear and craving, and that this recent phobia about the train is the embodiment and dramatization of such a longing to repose on the realization of infinity.

If so, then all his searching has been done on a far too shallow level of himself. Will he yet go down deeper? He who knew William James in the flesh, and once sat by his fire talking,—will he yet go below all those mere stations of the Twopenny Tube he has been following, into the catacombs where the subconscious, so clearly human on its near side, stretches out on its far side possibly into something else? I wish he would. I wish he would fling his worn, sharpened sense of personal identity into the eternally fluid, imperishably renewing, life of the universe,—would make the *journey within,* which those old poets made whom he so well and reverently knows:—

"I saw eternity the other night,
Like a great ring of pure and endless light,
All calm as it was bright."

SARAH N. CLEGHORN.

[1] Published by Century, $4.

The Science of Social Relations

SPECIALISTS in the exact sciences have sometimes said that sociology possesses no laboratory for experimental and demonstration work. While attempts have been made to supply this need with certain rooms in college halls, termed "sociological laboratories", the answer to the criticism has also been made that the student is *living constantly* in the laboratory of sociology.

Hornell Hart, in his book, *The Science of Social Relations,* not only assumes that the environment of the student forms the laboratory, but assembles and classifies the equipment of that environment, and uses it for laboratory purposes.

The approach is frankly pragmatic. For student work, a number of written exercises are proposed, classified according to the sources from which the material and equipment are to be acquired. The tasks for experimentation and demonstration are divided into five sections. Under each chapter heading of the book, certain of these practical undertakings are scheduled. There is first, the field investigation; we have said the thing is true:—now go into the field of social relations and find out *how* true it is, and in *what sense* it is true. The second type of assignment calls for pertinent observations and experiences on the part of the students. The third provides for actual experiments upon groups. The fourth deals with case studies, and the fifth requires a checking up on the other findings by a study of the written works of authoritative specialists and investigators in the field.

Hart proceeds on the assumption that "Social problems present two great phases. One of these is the "person-to-person relationship." "Beyond and above these personal relations are such factors as the influence of climate, soils, plants, animals, and topography upon human activities, the development of culture through innovation and diffusion, the growth of cities, the nature and causes of social change." This text, the sub-title of which is "An Introduction to Sociology", does not deal with what he declares is the second phase. He suggests that this is left for a second book. Biological, economic, geographical and social origins and processes of the past, he counts as secondary in point of approach, to the actual human-relations facts and processes of which the student is now a part. In this sense we have here an *approach* to the study of the entire field of sociology beginning with the present social status and relationships of the person who is to pursue the study.

The title of the third chapter, "The motive of life is to function", expresses the theory which is carried through the entire treatment. In subsequent chapters the author deals with mental functioning, social functioning, contagious behavior, various phases of personality development and expression. Social conflict arises through expanding personalities, and various theories are expounded for the settling of such conflict. Remedies are sought which will provide justice in social action, and allow progress in the midst of conflicting relationships.

The book should be useful as a text for those sociologists who agree with the author in his approach to the study of social science. It should be also especially helpful to the person who lacks the background of social studies but finds himself in a position of social leadership and needing knowledge of the principles and processes of interacting causation in group life.—(Published by Henry Holt and Company, New York, $4.50.)

WALTER BURR

Present Day Germany

THE Gateway to Life, second volume in a tetralogy by Frank Thiess, three of which have been published in German, has been translated into English by H. T. Lowe-Porter. It is a story, by a Baltic author, of an important part of the post-bellum generation in Germany and its tomorrow. The first volume deals with its childhood. The one under review with its adolescence. The third pictures its youth and the fourth anticipates its maturity. This volume in hand is the story of a group of young Germans, high school students who are over subjective in their attitudes toward the world. Thiess does not feel this as evidenced by the quotation from Carl Spitteler which he uses on the fly leaf. In part:

> "What has a nation that is better than its high school pupils? And what should we all have been without the immature dreams, the absurd self-importance of those days? All that we are, all that we accomplish, we owe to our high school years. For during them our character ripened and received its stamp. Whither am I bound? cries out the virile young soul, thirsting for action, for achievement, for glory. It is not the certificate of graduation that he longs for, nay, verily; but his future self, the ego of the man to be."

This series of boy portraits is of idealists, individualists, old beyond their age who talk well, too well, on subjects they are yet to experience. Their idealism, their romantic attitude toward their country may not serve them or Germany in its next fifty years. But the story of the clash between the older and younger generations is well written and Thiess has given us a summary of attitudes of certain young Germans which is in sharp contrast to many prevailing ideas both inside and outside of Germany. (Published by Alfred A. Knopf, $3.) A. A. S.

The Hills Round About Jerusalem

OF many books dealing with the Holy Land, the writer has read not one which can surpass in interest and literary beauty, Dr. Fosdick's latest volume, *A Pilgrimage to Palestine.*

No traveller to that land can afford to sail without this book; every step of his journey will be richer and more fascinating, nobler and more reverent, for seeing through Dr. Fosdick's eyes the significance of the landscape at each new turn of the road. It is fair to say that "the very stones cry out" in these pages and every ruined wall is made to spell the story of the rise and fall of empires.

With a New Testament and this beautiful interpretation of those hills round Nazareth, that lake of Galilee, and the narrow streets of old Jerusalem, one can catch something of the presence of the Master, as he lived his human life among commonplace surroundings. From page to page the nature of Jesus' daily life and contacts grows vivid and luminous.

Dr. Fosdick has not failed to point out the causes, and they do exist, for disillusionment and disappointment that come so frequently to pilgrims to the Holy Land. How anyone can fail to rise gloriously above these, as Dr. Fosdick takes one into the treasures still to be discovered there, is beyond comprehension.

For those who have not looked upon the hills round Nazareth or trod the streets of Jerusalem and who may never hope to do so, this book comes as near as written word can to aiding the imagination in portraying that beloved land. For those, who teaching the Bible, in class room or in church, would like for themselves and their students, to make real "the Land of the Brook," I can heartily recommend this contribution from Fosdick's pen, as a source book of unusual value. Climate, geography and topography are clearly set forth; even more vivid is the portrayal of the march of time and events, from the days of the cave dwellers to the entrance of Allenby through the Jaffa Gate. Nearly four hundred Bible references, all indexed, two pages of selected bibliography, and a good index of subjects and proper names, add greatly to the value of the book for the teacher.

Among men and women everwhere, to whom those lines of Meyers' "Jesus divinest when Thou most art man" are very truth, this book will find a warm welcome. Here they will find inspired passages, and, as they walk with Jesus in Galilee, they will gather strength to walk His Way in their own city streets. Christian information and thought about the land where their faith had birth is richer for this latest work of Dr. Fosdick. (Published by Macmillan, $2.50) S. RALPH HARLOW

Roadside Notes

MR. CHARLES HORTON COOLEY, professor of sociology at the University of Michigan has written in *Life and The Student* a series of "roadside notes on human nature, society and letters." The seven parts of his volume: Our Times, Reading and Writing, Thinking, Art, Science and Sociology, Academic, Human Nature and Larger Life are as interesting as their titles. In part two he gives new high lights on the works of ten well known poets and writers. His section on Thinking, with its unusual definitions of naive and sophistication, will jar many a modern student awake. As I read this very genial book I turned down pages to quote from—I had to give that up because, so far, I have been unable to figure how to turn a page corner both directions at once. I recommend your reading it and quoting the parts *you* wish. (Published by Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50) A. A. S.

They Were Foreign Missionaries

WILLA CATHER has written a delightful and fine novel based on historical reconstruction. In *Death Comes for the Archbishop* she paints the lives of two Roman Catholic priests in their mission work in the middle 19th Century in Mexico and New Mexico among the Mexicans and Indians. And later of the bringing of Christianity to the miners in their rush for gold in Colorado. The story is fascinating; the writing is exquisite. (Published by Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50) A. A. S.

BETTER BOOKS *for* ALL-ROUND READING

The A. B. C. of Aesthetics, by Leo Stein. New York: Boni & Liveright, 1927. 6 x 8¼. 271 pages. $3. A profound and superbly clear analysis of art in its relation to man. Not a history of art. An analysis of aesthetic activity that is fundamental in purpose and achievement. Clears up many confusions. A sure island in the swamp of the subject.

Arrogant Beggar, by Anzia Yezierska. New York: Doubleday, Page. 1927. 279 pages. 5½ x 8¼. $2.50. A red rag to the hundred-percenter, proving what he has always said! Otherwise, a swiftly-written and eloquent, if somewhat hysterical, presentation of the immigrant's preference for the opportunity to develop rather than enforced development itself.

Important Events of the Past Five Years in European and American History, by F. D. Moyer. New York: Self Test Publishing Co. 1927. 5¼ x 7¾. 64 pages. $0.35. Summary of many historical and political events in the style of Ask-Me-Another.

The Honorable Picnic, by Thomas Raucat, translated by Leonard Cline. New York: Viking Press. 1927. 5½ x 7½. 319 pages. $2.50. A comedy of manners; a study in contrast between Occidental and Oriental moralities and manners, whimsically told.

I Pronounce Them, by G. A. Studdert Kennedy. New York: George H. Doran, 1927. 5 x 7¼. 313 pages. $2. Chaplain to the King of England, a priest in the Anglican Church, writes of marriage and divorce. It deserves reading as far west as the anti-British Chicago centers.

Deluge, by S. Fowler Wright. London: Fowler Wright, Ltd. 1927. 4½ x 7½. 320 pages. 7s.6d. The recent New England floods made this volume so realistic, with its supposition that a large part of the world is destroyed by a new flood, that we began to button up our galoshes. Some of its people survived. We hope to.

The International Economic Conference, by Allyn A. Young and H. Van V. Fay. Boston: World Peace Foundation. 1927. 5½ x 8. 411 pages. (Pamphlet) 5c. Just the facts—dry but important.

The Labour Party and the Empire, by L. Haden Guest. London: Labour Pub. Co. 1926. 4¼ x 6½. 95 pages. (Pamphlet) 1 shilling. An amazingly many-angled discussion of the problems of imperialism that must be met by a socialist government in a World Empire.

The Principle of Nonresistance As Held by the Mennonite Church, by John Horsch. 5¼ x 7¾. 60 pages. (Pamphlet) 10c. A readable and authentic account of the religious group named after Menno Simon and their views on the use of violence.

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CORRESPONDENCE

A Subscriber Reacts

I HAVE just read the enclosed accounts* of Mr. Page's visit (or rather prospective visit) to Morgantown, W. Va. (my home town) and I am sending you $5 for subscriptions to the persons mentioned as trying to prevent said visit. . . . I really cannot afford to do this, but the temptation is too strong for me to resist.

A SUBSCRIBER

**Clippings from West Virginia papers commenting on the cancellation of Kirby Page's scheduled addresses at the University of West Virginia by President Trotter after protest by the American Legion and the Daughters of the American Revolution, and the preparations by a group of students for having him speak at an auditorium off the campus.*

To A Certain Other Speaker

YOU made a great speech—one of many blows you have struck in the cause of international peace. You punctured the delusions as to what the Great War accomplished. You punctured the "greatness of America"—when that is reckoned in material terms. You portrayed clearly and courageously the menacing dangers of today. And you told what can be done, today, for peace.

We admire you, Mr. Speaker. We are with you, heart and soul. But you dropped your voice just once. "For, in order that I may have the right to speak, I wish to say that in case my Government should, by regular and orderly means, declare war, I should support the Government."

What you dropped your voice on, I wish to underscore. *"In order that I may have the right to speak . . ."* The implication may as well be dragged into the open. The subject is peace, international peace. Not a vague attitude and sentiment, but an issue or a combination of issues in which lurks peril hourly, as you yourself showed. On *peace,* you *deny to thorough-going pacifists the right to speak.* That is the implication. There can be no other.

We pacifists freely grant you the right to speak. We gladly hear you speak on peace, even though you are not quite sure about it. Your opposition to war might, you indicate, under certain conditions, at a certain time, change to support of war. We grant the right to speak on peace even to thorough-going militarists. They speak on peace, and most of them want it. We give free platform to them all. We will join with you in every measure you propose, positive and negative, for building up peace. We go further; we have totally rejected the war method. We are against war, all war, before it starts and after it starts. We will risk life or reputation on this stand. And for doing this—you deny to us the right to speak!

We know the arguments. We leave it to you to discuss the "just war," or the "defensive war" that might conceivably arise. You know how remote the possibility, how real the camouflage. We admit that ostensibly we are under the rule of the majority. We desire as earnestly as the American Ambassador to England to see the majority once consulted, on a war-or-peace question. We believe the answer would be plain. We believe it would be For Peace.

If not—then we cannot prevent the majority, but neither can we personally obey. For us War is impossible. At this point you part with us, Mr. Speaker, to our regret. You follow your conscience, and we can only follow ours. Even you are not in all things ruled by the majority.

Who then may speak? Who may not speak? On peace. Have you thought whom you would muzzle?

Newtonville, Mass. ROBERT E. CHANDLER

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Summer Opportunities

THE romance of the Canterbury Pilgrimage and the convenience of modern travel will be combined in the two European two-month tours now being arranged by the National Student Council of the Y. W. C. A. for the summer of 1928. An experienced conductor and possibly a European student will travel with each group whose membership will be limited to twelve undergraduates, graduates, faculty members, and student secretaries. Half a dozen European countries will be visited by each tour and through the wide contacts of the International Student Service, opportunities for meeting student groups, political and economic leaders will be provided as well as sightseeing, opera, art galleries, and camping trips. The round trip, New York to New York, will cost $725 which includes all expenses of travel, living, visas, and trips. Inquiries and applications should be made before February 1 to Miss Anne Wiggin, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York City.

IN order that students interested in going into industrial work may gain insight and experience for their preparation, the Y. W. C. A. is also arranging for a group to spend six weeks working in Chicago industries. Seminars twice a week and three day conferences will be addressed by prominent labor leaders. Inquiries should be addressed to National Student Council, Y. W. C. A., 600 Lexington Avenue, New York City.

Youth Peace Congress

FIVE hundred young men and women will travel from the different countries of the world, next summer, to Eerde, Holland, where a World Youth Peace Congress will be held from August 17-26. This is the first time that representative groups will have met for the purpose of studying the basic causes of war and their elimination, and to develop methods and agencies for dealing with the problem of war.

The American Committee, World Youth Peace Congress of 1928, with headquarters at Room 386, 104 East Ninth Street, New York City, has assumed responsibility for America's participation in the Congress. Eighty delegates consisting of representatives from the colleges, churches, labor groups, Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., and others will be chosen by the Committee. Informational leaflets, posters, and a study outline, all in connection with the World Youth Peace Congress have been prepared for distribution by the American Committee.

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for 1928

The Last Page

ONCE upon a time I felt called to the ministry. The call was not insistent. I "talked it over with my pastor," and he persuaded me (by trying to get me to go on with it) that I'd mistaken a whisper for an authentic summons.

Once, also, I felt called to be an artist, meaning by that a painter of pictures. I talked it over with the man who was paintin my father's barn, and he convinced me that I was hardly fitted.

On another occasion, I planned to make a career in vaudeville. With the aid of tin cans picked up from the kitchens of obliging neighbors, I created (I think that is the correct stage term) a canophone—an instrument resembling, in everything but tonal effect, a zylophone; and with it I became almost famous in the little city where I lived and dreamed. When another fellow and I also created a boozophone out of a couple of hundred bottles partly filled with vari-colored liquids; and created in addition a flower-pot ensemble; and then learned to play "Home, Sweet Home" by dropping properly attuned sticks of firewood one by one on the floor, I was all set for Keith's. But my parents talked it over with me, and they made up my mind that it was a bad bet.

It is a pity that some occupation doesn't exist which would provide adequate outlet for all these capacities at once. I suppose the ministry, after all, is the one best adapted. But in my youth I was a little afraid of the problem of sermons. I had ideas enough—three or four, at any rate—and many a preacher gets by for life with no more. But it struck me as rather a hard job to work up something worth while Sunday after Sunday, and in my lack of experience I did not realize that a little artistry and vaudeville thrown in might have turned the trick for me, as it has for many another. And so the world lost—well, whatever it lost; and gained naught but a typewriter-tapper of questionable literature.

And yet it need not have been so. Nobody ever told me about a certain prosperous business concern in an Eastern city, which for 18 years has been selling ready-made sermons to needy pastors, high and low and to and fro and thence and thither me lads heigh-ho. From this factory of fervor it is possible to obtain, for $3.50, Twelve New Matchless Messages, Each a Masterpiece of Eloquence and Logic. If these are anywhere near as good as they sound, they would make *Best Sermons of 1927* look like a last summer's lipstick.

Asks one of 'em, "Are We Juggling with Justice?" This is "an address straight from the shoulder," containing interesting statistics and revealing the inability of our courts to cope with present-day crime. Who is to blame?" Well, there *do* seem to be a number of people in the universe somewhat less than completely honest, and not all of them are in the so-called underworld.

Another sermon wants to know: "Marriage—A failure? Is marriage a failure today? Read this splendid address and find out." Isn't it lucky there is Somebody to Turn to Who Knows.

Still another of these sermons is written on the theme of "The Decay of the American Home." How about the decay of the ministry?

But the one in which I am most interested, I confess, in view of the fact that thousands of these are sold every year; and that free premiums are offered to those who order now (the premium being a beautiful wall motto); and that all correspondence is treated confidentially; is the sermon entitled "The Tragedy of the Unfinished Task." I should think this one ought to sell well. Or, may it be possible that the clergymen who might otherwise need canned sermons are able to speak on that subject, at least, out of personal experience?

Give me the occasion and I know what I'd like to do with these "Matchless sermons." I'd be glad to supply the match.

* * *

BEING an incorrigible letter writer, I have recently been enjoying some correspondence with the Department of State. Subject: Nicaragua and other points south. I have been a trifle curious as to what constitutes a "bandit" in the sight of our State Department, and have discovered that it is anyone who persists in opposing the terms of "pacification" laid down by the United States marines and their Nicaraguan allies and who levies tribute from the countryside for military operations. Now, I am no friend of military operations, but I can't help wondering where George Washington gets off under this definition. But, for me, the Department adds insult to incompetency. They sign their letters, from Mr. Kellogg up to the clerks, after the fashion of a century ago, "Your obedient servant." Well, gentlemen, you may kindly go chase yourselves. You are no servants of mine; in this matter, you are distinctly a disobedient servant. Some of our competent statesmen a century ago—we really had a few—used to sign themselves "Your obedient servant." But there, unfortunately, the resemblance ceases.

* * *

A WOMAN in Chestertown, Maryland, has received a prize of $100 for the Women's National Democratic Club. Her entry was: "Eight Years of Wall Street—Give Main Street a Chance." The runner-up cashed in to the extent of $50, with: "Tariff Relief Means Farm Relief." And the third prize of $25 gravitated toward the composer of this beautiful sentiment: "By Their Loots Ye Shall Know Them."

To my ear, these don't seem any too well adapted for use by the Democrats, who derive most of their financial backing from that same little thoroughfare in lower Manhattan. Take a look at the campaign funds of the last few elections, and you will not fail to observe that an increasing number of prosperous gentlemen and ladies contributed both to the Republicans and to the Democrats. A good substitute would be, and a bit more realistic: "Eight Years Service of Wall Street—Now Give Us a Chance." I can't in honesty find fault with No. 2, except with its inadequacy. But as for No. 3, while the backers of the Republicans have been great captains of industry—the industry of capturing currency—the Democrats have been pretty good lootenants.

* * *

There are probably excellent reasons why our barons of politics and finance don't like the dictators of Soviet Russia. One reason, it may be, is professional jealousy.

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